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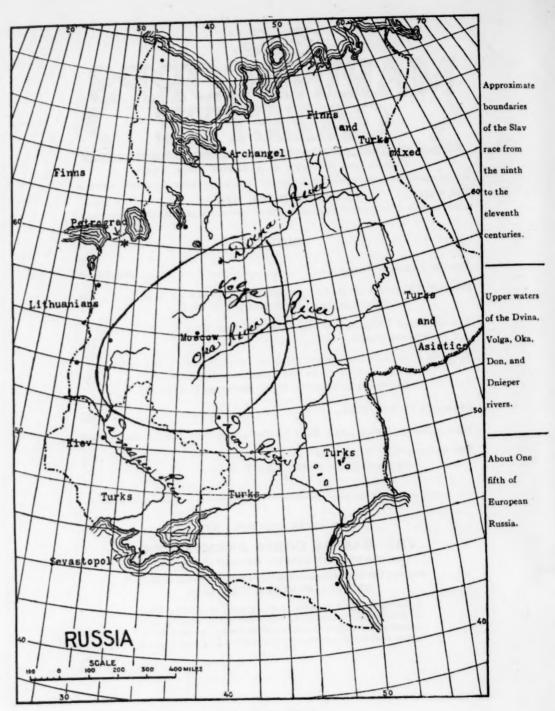
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MAP OF CENTRAL RUSSIA

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# FOREIGN RELATIONS OF RUSSIA, CONSIDERED RACIALLY

BY COLONEL JAMES C. BRECKENRIDGE, U.S.M.C.

Note by the Editor.—The Gazette is extremely fortunate in being able to present to its readers this masterly historical sketch of the Russian Slavic race, with the inferences which may be drawn from its past, by so distinguished an authority on the history and affairs of that race.

Prelude.—The foreign relations of a nation cannot be analyzed until their underlying motives are understood, and in order to do this it is necessary to review history, so that national impulses and characteristics may be traced as apart from the political expediency of any period. Foreign relations are based principally upon national character, no matter how this may be influenced by political events.

Russia has always been an enigma to the Anglo-Saxon, if not to the entire Occidental mind, and added to this it has, in recent years, become a paradox as well, at the outset we are confronted by the question of whose Foreign Relations are under discussion? Those of the old Russian Empire which occupied a distinct and powerful influence in the councils of nations, or those of the present paradoxical and non-recognized so-called government? It appears idle to discuss those of a vanished government as bearing on present and probable future events, and at the same time much stress should not be laid upon those of the existing unreliable and presumably temporary oligarchy. Under these rather baffling circumstances recourse must be had to history, in an effort to locate some natural physical conditions or racial traits which form a basis for a continuing racial attitude, one that is inherent in the people, irrespective of their government.

A study of the geography of that which has always been known as Russia reveals a land chiefly remarkable for its flatness, which history and an inspection of the ethnographical map for the ninth century

show to have been populated by Slavs, Lithuanians, Finns, Turks and Greeks. It is instructive to note that the Slavs occupied a minor portion of this territory, in the West central part, and this touched salt water in but two places, at the mouth of the Danube and near what is now Koenigsberg, in East Prussia. And it is surprising to observe that Finns and Turks are shown as "mixed" in the entire northern part of Russia, from Arkangel east across the Urals into Siberia. All boundaries appear as imaginary lines traced across the earth's surface. There is nothing to mark them. Only one rested upon a natural barrier between races, the Carpathian Mountains, forming part of the Southern boundary of the Slavs. Here, before the days of diplomatic officers and regulated Foreign Relations, is found the germ for racial effort. The land of the Slavs was surrounded by opposing races, there were no natural frontiers, and access to the sea was limited As this restricted people produced the Russian Empire of later years, it is proof that there must have developed foreign relations pursuant to policies which had some continuing objectives, which, in order to survive so many centuries, must be inherent in the race. If this be so it may be counted upon to manifest in the future approximately as in the past, and without reference to the element that may be in control of the government.

We will now search history in an effort to trace some thread of logical sequence in the progress of Russian Foreign Relations, and it is hoped that when this is done a guide for the future will have been found.

Influence of Rivers on the History of Russia.—Water, whether of river or sea, has played a dominant part in Russian development. It was the rivers, the "roads that run," that constituted for centuries the only avenues of communication; whether for commerce or war, conquest or colonization, it was upon their banks that the Russians gathered. From their interior positions at the river sources they invariably expanded in the direction of the streams, seeking always two things, outlets and natural boundaries. It is noted that wars of expansion descended down the Volga, Don, Dnieper, Dniester and Neva. Byzantine influence affected Russia via the Dnieper, Asiatic influence via the Volga, and European influence via the Neva. The history of Russia may be considered as divided into three riverperiods, that of the Dnieper with Kiev, the Volga with Moscow, and the Neva with Novgorod in the eighth century and St. Petersburg in the eighteenth, and, we may add, Petrograd in the twentieth. The

Tzar Peter I, transferred his capitol to a new outlet (the Neva) without releasing his grasp on either of the old ones, the Volga and the Dnieper.

The Russian Slavs in the Ninth Century.—A period of change followed the barbarian invasions of Eastern Europe in the fourth century. The Huns, having overthrown the Empire founded by the Goths, were followed by hordes of mixed Asiatic peoples. In the midst of the ensuing strife and confusion of races the Slavs came to the front with their own personality and character, and appeared in history under their proper name. This is an event of importance. They are described by several chroniclers as having clashed with the Roman Empire in the West, and having begun the secular duel between the Greek and Slav races. Certain tribes having formed a separate group received the name of "Russian Slavs." Their history begins in the ninth century, when they were all but completely penned in the districts of the Dvina, the upper Dnieper, the Llmen (Niemen) and the Dniester. In the basin of the Volga they held no more territory than they actually occupied around the sources of that river and of the Oka. Other Slavic tribes settled other communities, and formed what have since evolved into other nations, but we are concerned with the development of the Russian Slavs only.

Colonization of Russia; Its Division into Three Branches .-Towards the end of the eleventh century the Russians were confined between the Lithuanians on the West, the Finns on the North, and the Turks on the East and South, occupying hardly one-fifth of what later became their Empire in Europe. The situation does not show any marked difference from that depicted upon the ethnographical map of the ninth century. The name "White Russia" has been given to that part occupied by the old governments of Vitebsk, Mogilov and Minsk; "Little Russia" applied to Kiev and surrounding territory, but the most important of all was "Great Russia," centring around ancient Muskovy and occupying the place held in the ninth century by Turkish and Finnish tribes. Apart from Novgorod and Pskov, Great Russia was won from others by colonization, for it should be known that the Russian Slavs were colonizers and pioneers over land in much the same manner that the Anglo-Saxons were for the sea. It is again noted that in fulfilment of their destiny of expansion the Russians were true to form, i.e., they followed the water courses in seeking their outlet, and a natural barrier between themselves and other races.

The Formation of Russia, and the First Expeditions Against Constantinople (862-972).—The name "Varangian" has been given to a band of adventurous spirits composed partly of Slavs but mostly of Scandinavians, who imposed the name "Russia" upon the country in which they left so marked an influence. The origin of the name appears dimmed by antiquity, but it has not illogically been laid to a spot in Sweden called "Roslog," from which is derived the Swedish word "Roslagen," meaning "boatmen" or "oarsmen." The first code of Russian laws, compiled by Yaroslav, bears striking analogy to certain of those of Scandinavia.

Like all others who have come into intimate contact with the Slavs the Scandinavians were quickly absorbed by them, and to all outward appearances vanished.

Two Varangian chieftains, Askold and Dir, conducted the first expedition against Tzargrad (Byzantium or Constantinople). Passing down the Dnieper with 200 boats they entered the Bosphorus and unsuccessfully attacked the city. It is noted that they followed the

river in an effort to gain an outlet.

In 907 Oleg, another Varangian, with a large expedition, attacked the same place by land and sea. Following this, Igor, still another Varangian, led two expeditions, the latter of which in 944, so alarmed the Byzantian Emperor as to cause him to make on offer of tribute and to sign a commercial treaty. Details of these expeditions are given by Nestor, the chronicler and Priest of Kiev, as well as by certain other contemporaneous writers, but they appear little better than legendary. However, the tenacity of the ancient Russians in following their water courses toward outlets on the sea appears to be established as a racial as well as a national instinct, and the desire for Constantinople (otherwise known as Tzargrad, or City of the Tzar) is strongly revealed.

At this stage of legendary chronicle, it is not possible to dignify events by the name of Foreign Relations, but they serve to indicate such racial instincts as will later hold true through the strain of

political changes.

One more unsuccessful effort was made against what now appears to have been the racial goal, that of Sviatoslav, Grand Prince of Kiev and son of Rurik, the greatest leader of the Varangians. This was in 972 when the Russian armies saw the Danube for the last time until the reign of Catharine II.

Recognition of the Prince of Kiev by the Greek Emperors

(972-1015).—Vladimir, ruler of the Russians, an elemental creature of licentious habits, was converted to Christianity and demanded the hand of Anne, sister of the Greek Emperors Basil and Constantine, threatening in case of refusal to march against Constantinople. The Emperors, not feeling themselves strong enough to resist, acceded upon condition that Vladimir be baptized. This he did, and the despot of Russia became allied with the greatest Empire of the world. It is important to notice that this recognition was pursuant to a threat against the Bosphorus port.

The Union of Russia (1015-1054).—Heretofore we have dealt with the Slavic tribes that settled in the vicinity of Kiev (the Ukraine), and played the spectacular part in Russian development. After numerous tribal wars Yaroslav the Great subdued all the Slavic tribes and became ruler of all Russia, retaining Kiev as his capital. He waged war far and near, and fought a naval engagement in the Bosphorus, but the only troops to reach Constantinople were 800 prisoners. He revised the first code of laws. His sister married a King of Poland; one son is said to have married a daughter of Harold, King of England, another son married a daughter of a King of Poland, another a daughter of the Greek Emperor, and two others married German Princesses. Other daughters married the Kings of Norway, France and Hungary. It is thus seen that the Russian dynasty of the eleventh century was linked with the ruling houses of the rest of Europe. Yaroslav died in 1054 and with his passing began the decline of Kiev as the centre of Russian power.

Teutonic Conquests—The Tartar-Mongol Yoke (1054–1462).— During this period there was much strife, and Kiev, heretofore dominating, fell as the result of war between the heirs to power. For a time Russia ceased to have a central government. A first attempt at consolidated autocracy was made, and failed.

The only mention made to relations with other countries refers to the conquest of the Baltic Provinces by the Germans, and the invasion of the Southeast by the Tartar-Mongols, who under Genghis Khan, practically enslaved all the Russian tribes. Although the Mongols devastated the country they left no political imprint, as the laws and customs were not altered. They did, however, impose certain restrictions, one of which was that no tribe could engage in war without the consent of the Khan. It is noted that a request to recapture the port of Riga from the Germans was made and refused.

The Western Provinces gradually passed under Teutonic domi-

nation and Russia reverted to her old position of locked-in isolation. The chief occupation of the tribes was fractricidal strife. One momentous transition took place during this period, and that was the development of the race surrounding Moscow, which was destined to progress into the Russian Empire. In 1380, Dmitrie Donskoi fought a terrible battle with the Tartar-Mongols, in which he proved that the Asiatic conquerors were not invincible. Although the Mongols later returned and destroyed Moscow, the germ of freedom had been planted in the Russian mind. About 1389, the first cannon appeared in the army, the rehabilitation of Moscow was well under way and its power continued to spread throughout the Russian lands.

The Land United. The End of the Tartar Yoke (1462-1505) .-At the beginning of this era the geographic situation of the Russians was the same as that which has inspired so much of their intercourse with other people. They were now stifled between the Swedes, the Lithuanians and the Mongols. But under Ivan III, Moscow extended her territory to Finland, the White Sea, the Arctic Ocean, and obtained a foothold in Asia. In every instance the Russians followed the river courses, except in the march to the Eastward, where they sought a natural barrier between themselves and opposing races. The hold of the Asiatics wes relaxed forever, and a series of wars with Lithuania and Poland resulted in regaining some of the old lost territory. For political reasons Ivan III sent Ambassadors to Prussia, Austria, Hungary, Constantinople and the Pope; he also entered into an alliance with Denmark. None of these exercised immediate geographic pressure against Russia. He created a diplomacy and strengthened the national army.

Development of Diplomatic Relations with Europe (1505-1533). -Additional lost territory was regained in the West; embassies were exchanged with all the powers of the West except England and France. Russia was courted by the rulers of the world from the Pope in Rome to the Sultan of Egypt and the Great Mogul of India. Although the precise nature of these events is not revealed, they show nevertheless a steady development in foreign relations, as such are

now understood.

Russian Expansion Resumed (1533-1584).—The reign of Ivan IV was in many ways epochal. Under him the growing tendency toward autocracy crystalized into despotism. All North and East Russia was united under him as Grand Prince of Moscow. Finding this title inadequate for his prestige and powers he caused himself to

be crowned "Tzar," taking the title given by the Slavic language to the Kings of Egypt and Babylon, and to the Emperors of Rome and Constantinople.

In a sort of Christian crusade the Volga River was cleared of Asiatics to its mouth, and the Caspian Sea won to Russia. The Don Cossacks allied themselves with the Tzar, which gave Russia the waterway to the Black Sea via the Don River and the Sea of Azov. Having now realized both natural boundary and outlet in the North and South (Arctic Ocean and Black and Caspian Seas) Russia found they availed her nothing, and that it was still necessary to open a way to the Baltic. In the intervening territory lay jealous rivals, Sweden, the Livesian Voichts Lithuania and Polend

the Livonian Knights, Lithuania and Poland. In 1554, unnatural frontiers were the cause of war between Russia and Sweden. This ended unsatisfactorily in a commercial treaty which permitted Swedish merchants access to India and China on the one hand, and those of Russia access to Western Europe on the other. But Ivan IV wanted more than this; he wanted the ports of Riga, Reval and Narva. In 1558, he took Narva and eighteen other places. Kiev was recaptured from the Khan of the Crimea and the waters of the Dniester again passed to Russia. The King of Poland (Sigismund Augustus II) having died, an effort was made to have Ivan IV mount the throne, thus uniting two Slavic countries which were separated more by religion and culture than anything else. The interminable war with Sweden broke out afresh and Narva was lost. This effort to open the Baltic (preceding that of Peter the Great by 150 years) fell to the ground after thirty years of struggle and sacrifice. It is interesting to observe that at the same time the Baltic was closed the White Sea was opened with the assistance of the English, who, when they returned home, carried the first Russian Ambassador to their country. Strogonoff and his band of pioneers crossed the Urals and, step by step, the Russians began their Eastern progress, seeking the outlets denied them in the North, West and South.

A tentative effort to establish a diplomatic service was made, the Russian ideas in this direction being those of Byzantine and the East. Foreign Ambassadors were treated with sumptuous consideration combined with the greatest suspicion, while Russian Ambassadors to other countries were more the commission agents of the Tzar than the representatives of his government. Their mercantile preoccupations and eternal squabbles about etiquette rendered them persona non grata to all the courts of Europe.

Wars with Sweden and Poland. Internal Chaos of Russia. Election of Michael Romanoff (1584-1613).—War was renewed with Sweden, previous losses being partly retrieved. An effort to take Livonia failed. The hereditary feud with Poland continued.

In so far as foreign relations can be influenced by domestic politics the situation during this time differed in no way from certain previous epochs in the history of chaotic Russia, or from conditions as they have been during the last few years. The Tzar and the Patriarch were prisoners; the Swedes held Novgorod and the Poles held Moscow; corruption of officials was all but universal, while marauders overran the country torturing the people and desecrating the churches. Famine increased to such an extent that cannibalism is recorded; all semblance of government disappeared. These details pertain to the development of foreign relations only as they account for a racial frame of mind; they are important as a background, to illuminate a people innured to ignorance, suffering, deceit and tyranny. They depict the mental and spiritual progress (or retardation) of a race slowly emerging from the primitive. There is another side to this depressing picture, however; a spiritual awakening took place, and the better element rallied around certain nobles and ecclesiastics who rose to the occasion and asserted themselves. The Swedes and Poles were driven from the land, and a great National Assembly for the election of a Tzar was convened at Moscow. Michael Romanoff was elected in a really representative fashion, and with him entered an era of patriotism and unity, together with a national longing for peace and order.

Relations with Europe (1613–1645).—Orthodox relations with the civilized world were resumed. An Ambassador was sent to France, suggesting an alliance against Poland and Sweden. This is the first recorded effort toward a Franco-Russian alliance. It was without result, but it marks the continued determination of the Russians to acquire their Baltic outlet, and rectify their Polish frontier. After a peace of eight years, war against Poland broke out again in 1632; this may be called a draw, as the Russians paid an indemnity if 20,000 roubles, and the Polish King recognized the Tzar's title for the first time. Foreigners were welcomed into Russia as never before, especially manufacturers and learned men of science.

Continued War with Poland and Sweden (1645-1682).—War broke out against Poland, and with marked success. The Swedes also attacked the Poles, but this proved embarrassing to the Tzar, as their

objectives were approximately his own. Concluding peace with Poland, the Tzar tried to wrest the port of Riga from Sweden, but in vain. There followed a veritable bedlam of fighting among the three countries, which extended even to the Cossack tribes along the rivers Don and Dniester. In spite of the confusion of war, Russia continued with Western assimilation and diplomacy made distinct advances.

Peter the Great (1682-1709).—A man of remarkable mental and physical power, Peter I was destined to play an epochal part in the development of his country. His democratic instincts brought him into intimate contact with persons in all walks of life, including foreigners of every description. Beyond doubt this made him a far better judge of human nature, and gave him a keener understanding of affairs than any of his predecessors had enjoyed. He learned seamanship and personally handled vessels on the White Sea, being the first Tzar to personally reach salt water. Realizing the necessity for an outlet to the world, Peter analyzed the choice of attacking the Swedes on the Baltic or the Turks on the Black Sea. He decided upon the latter, but in either case he would have been true to the heritage of his race. Not being limited to the waters of the Dnieper, as were the old Princes of Kiev, he chose to attack the port of Azov, proceeding via the river Don. This expedition failing through a lack of suitable vessels he prepared another having the same object. He scoured Europe for artisans and seamen; he built dock yards along the river bank; in these were constructed some 2000 vessels of various descriptions, and in his own time he launched an entirely successful attack. As a reward for this victory he allowed himself a personal journey into the Western countries, where he appears to have investigated everything imaginable, and to have employed men of every trade and profession to return with him to Russia and instruct the people.

During the absence of Peter the usual uprisings and disorders occurred at home; he hastened his return and suppressed these in routine Slavonic manner, i.e., by wholesale executions and torture.

Conquest of the Baltic Provinces (1700–1709).—Peter the Great had the White Sea and the port of Azov, but these were inadequate. Only a port on the Baltic would give real communication with the countries to the West, and the Baltic was at that time no more than a Swedish lake. Peter accepted his heritage and renewed the age-long struggle. His immediate aim was almost a tradition, the river Neva, which he eventually captured together with parts of the shore line of

the Gulf of Finland and what are now known as the Baltic Provinces. Sweden was at last definitely eliminated as a Russian constriction, and salt water was attained in the West.

Peter's greatest ambition was to bring his country into close relations with foreign powers. In spite of the chronic internal dissention that has always afflicted Russia, he surrounded himself with Dutchmen, Englishmen, Scotchmen, Swiss and Germans, leaving untried no effort to Westernize his people. He endeavored to outstrip time itself, to forcibly impel Russia in a few years through a full century of evolution.

War with Turkey (1709-1725).—At the prospect of this event one historian says: "\* \* \* the whole of Russia trembled with gladness at the thought of treading in the steps of her ancient Princes, of marching to the Sovereign City (Tzargrad) \* \* \* of exterminating the old enemies of the Slav race \* \* \*." The end of this war was as much a matter of tradition as its beginning. In order to secure peace, Peter had to cede his hard won port of Azov and destroy his Black Sea Fleet.

Following this calamity, Peter turned to the Swedes again, and succeeded in capturing additional territory in what is now Finland. In order that his armies might be profitably employed he then sent them into Germany for the purpose of expelling such Swedes as might still be there. The German ruler (George of Hanover) feared a Russian conquest in place of the Swedish and succeeded in arousing so many enemies against him that Peter again looked to France as a possible ally. To this end he made a personal journey to that country, but without result, although his plenipotentiaries later concluded a treaty of commerce.

As Peter desired to make Russia the commercial highway between Europe and Asia there was this necessity to replace the lost port of Azov, so as to have an Eastern outlet. He therefore led an expedition down the Volga into Persian territory, capturing Astrakan and Baku.

Kamschatka. First German Influence. First Rupture with France. Azov Recaptured (1725–1741).—Following the death of Peter the Great, the first notable event in foreign efforts was an expedition to Kamschatka (under Behring); the second was a commercial treaty with the Celestial Empire, which permitted Russia to send caravans to Pekin once every three years without payment of dues, and to maintain four priests and six language students there. The aboriginal Slav of the

ninth century had now extended his influence from the headwaters of the Volga to England in the West and to China in the East.

The influence of Germany over Russia dates from this period. No direct descendants of Peter I being available, recourse was had to collateral branches which were strongly infused with German blood.

France, for reasons personal to the Royal family at this time, considered herself bound to Poland, which caused an unnatural alliance between Russia and Austria. There was much diplomatic controversy, followed by a French military defeat at the fort of Hagelsberg, after which the Russians captured Dantzig. This was the first contest between the French and Russians, and it was due to no racial or natural causes; the cause was political, Stanislas Lezczinski, candidate for the throne of Poland, being father-in-law of Louis XV.

The usual war against the Turks broke out again, and in 1736, Azov was recaptured.

Reaction Against German Influence. War with Sweden (1741-1762).—A grandson of Peter the Great (on the maternal side) was brought from Holland, and a revolution against the German rulers resulted in his being declared the heir to the throne. Friendly relations with France were restored, and the usual war with Sweden resulted in that country being soundly defeated, the Russians gaining still more territory in the South of Finland.

Foreign relations from now on appear more complicated, and are no longer limited to the routine matter of war. Europe was involved in alliances, plots and tangles of every description, and Russia had become a definite factor in the family of nations. Without now going into any of the details of Russia's intercourse with specific nations, we will continue to trace events as they appear to bear upon those Slavic characteristics which are racial rather than political. So far as they are confined to this standard they appear to be historically consistent, whereas purely political policies are erratic, and internal events are consistent only in the regular order of tyranny, revolution, chaos and rehabilitation.

German Relations. Partition of Poland. War with Turkey (1762-1779).—Political reasons dealing with the balance of power were responsible for an alliance between Prussia and England on one side, and France and Austria on the other. Russia, siding with the latter, invaded Prussia several times with varying success until, in 1760, she captured Berlin after exterminating the armies of Frederic II,

Siberia began to be peopled and commerce with the Far East grew. Up to this time the chief foreign influences to be felt in Russia were those of Germany and Holland, but now that of France surpassed all others. To the sagacity of Elizabeth is due the fostering of Franco-Russian ties that, with two setbacks, have since become traditional in world politics. (Note: Present foreign relations of Russia are not under consideration.)

Peter III reversed the foreign policy of Elizabeth; being strongly pro-German he restored to Frederic II all his lost territories and formed with him an offensive and defensive alliance. German influence was again in the ascendancy through the personal power of the Tzar, who united with Frederic in attacking Austria, his ally up to a moment before. Such a reversal of foreign policy had never been seen, but it is noticed that these events were purely political, and personal with an autocrat; they are not indicative of Russian sentiment or racial inclination.

In following the theme of this survey it is necessary to bear this distinction constantly in mind.

Catharine II, following the national instinct, promptly withdrew from the alliance with Frederic, referring to him as "the perfidious enemy of Russia." For political reasons she later had to modify her views, but it is remarked that her first and natural act was to repudiate Germanic influence.

The collapse and partition of Poland at this time is laid primarily to "the national movement of Russia which tended to complete itself on the Western side, and to recover \* \* \* the provinces which had formed part of the territory of St. Vladimir." There were, of course, other contributing factors, but the one given historic preference involves the old question of imaginary boundaries and the recovery of that which the Russians had reason to consider rightfully theirs.

Reversing the established order of things, Turkey declared war against Russia, and suffered a series of defeats from the Crimea to the Danube, the waters of which the Russian armies had not seen since the days of Sviatoslav, Grand Prince of Kiev, in 972.

For the first time Russia attempted sea warfare on a large scale. A fleet from the Baltic suddenly appeared in the waters of Greece, located the Turkish fleet in Tchesmi and destroyed it, but lost so much time in the subsequent conquest of the islands that the frightened Turks were enabled to fortify the Dardanelles. When the Russians finally arrived there it was too late (1770). As a result of this war

Russia captured the Crimea, the shore of the Black Sea between the Dnieper and the Dniester, and the islands of the Grecian Archipelago, besides much territory lying to her own Southwest. But the door was still locked. The Turks held the Bosphorus, although in the peace parley that ensued they conceded Russian merchants the rights of those of the most favored nation.

Through centuries of undeflected effort the Slav appeared to be attaining his end.

War with Turkey and Sweden. Second Partition of Poland. Influence of the French Revolution. War with Persia. (1779-1796.) The latter part of the reign of Catharine II was marked by an abandonment of the unnatural political alliance with England and Prussia, followed by reconciliation with France. In 1780, during the American Revolution, Russia joined with Denmark, Sweden, Prussia, Austria and Portugal in declaring a state of armed neutrality, which had for object safeguarding the rights of neutrals at sea.

Having advocated to Austria the dismemberment of the Turkish Empire, Russia proceeded to make ready for this pleasing task. Turkey again took the initiative and declared war. Russia considering the omens propitious, now schemed to force Poland into ceding Dantzig, while Sweden availed herself of the opportunity to seize some of her lost territory. The results of these efforts were rather negative on the whole. Finishing up the war with Sweden, Catharine devoted her energies to that in the South, where heavy fighting had been going on. Turkey, having been badly defeated in a series of engagements, sued for peace, and was saved only by the attention of Russia being directed to events in France and Poland. In the latter country, matters were reaching a crisis. Intrigue, internal politics, and external jealousy, culminated in a general onslaught upon that country, which resulted in its being repartitioned among Russia, Prussia and Austria. It is observed that Russia's share included the Bug and Niemen rivers, and Courland, which bordered on the Baltic. Austria and Prussia were content with land having no particular water value.

The French revolution exercised a profound impression upon Catharine II. She took many unique steps to show her contempt for the new era and sympathy for the monarchists. Although interested in a counter-revolution, and actually stimulating the interest of England, Austria and Prussia, and although promising aid to the extent of ten thousand troops, she was nevertheless careful not to engage in

war in the West. "My position is taken," she said, "my part assigned; it is my duty to watch over the Turks, the Poles and Sweden."

She died in 1796, after having extended the boundaries of her country more than any sovereign since Ivan IV. She gave Russia the Niemen, flowing North into the Baltic; the Dniester, flowing South into the Black Sea. These rivers were natural barriers on the West, separating Russia from opposing races. On the South she gave the Black Sea itself. The country was already bounded on the North by the Arctic Ocean. It remained for the efforts of some future ruler to unlock the Black Sea at the Bosphorus, and to continue East through Siberia in search of some natural barrier between the Russians and the next opposing race, whatever it might prove to be.

Turco-Russian Alliance. Operations Against Bonaparte. Reconciliation with Bonaparte. India (1796–1801).—Paul I detested the French Revolution and admired the Germans. In his earliest foreign relations he reversed much of the policy of Catharine II. His first efforts were peaceful. He withdrew his forces from Persia and Georgia, showed pity for Poland, and informed the King of Prussia that he favored neither conquest nor aggrandizement. He refused aid to Austria then alarmed by Bonaparte's victories in Italy. It is noted that these non-Russian ideals were personal to the Tzar, who was pro-

German; they were not indicative of national character.

An amazing political situation arose when Bonaparte's double agression against Malta and Egypt caused such alarm in both Russia and Turkey as to actually bring these hereditary enemies together in an alliance against this new danger. In 1798, the Turco-Russian fleet captured the French garrisons in the Ionian Islands, and the Russian armies coöperated with those of England and her allies in Holland, Switzerland and upper Italy. Political differences with Austria and England, and Paul's growing admiration for the despotic ideals of Bonaparte, caused a rupture with the former and an understanding with the latter. This resulted in the first attempt made by Russia against India. Paul's instructions to the General intrusted with this task directed him to proceed from the Don to the Volga, to the Ural, to the Indus, to the Ganges, taking in Kiva and Bokhara. It was all quite comprehensive, and displayed a large contempt for geography and distance. The death of Paul put an end to this undertaking.

Wars with Bonaparte, England, Sweden, Austria, Turkey and Persia (1801-1825).—Alexander I modified the foreign policy of Paul. Differences with England were patched up; the principles of

armed neutrality were abandoned, and a treaty with France was negotiated at the same time—quite a paradoxical situation. But the French treaty did not last long, and diplomatic relations were severed. Additional overtures were made to England, with the result that a treaty of subsidies was formed; this was based upon the number of men Russia put under arms against Bonaparte. Alexander had aimed at a utopian scheme for the reconstruction of Europe, which involved natural frontiers, mountain ranges, and groups of nationalities; it also provided for the partition of the Ottoman Empire. Here is the racial ambition of the Slav, emerging from the fog of political obscurity.

There is no need to enter into the intricacies of political alliances at this time. Russia and Austria fought Bonaparte with varying success until they were both defeated at Pratzen. A coalition was formed among Russia, England, Sweden and Prussia; old enmities were forgotten in face of the all-conquering Bonaparte. In 1805, Prussia went into almost total eclipse, leaving the brunt of the war to Russia, who was also faced with a recurrence of her old private war with Turkey, and another with Persia. Peace was for the time established with Bonaparte when the two Emperors met at Tilsit, on a raft in the Niemen River. One clause of this treaty is interesting; it provided that Turkey should be allowed three months in which to make peace with Russia, following which the two countries would decide upon the method to be used in expelling her from Europe. Another treaty concluded between Alexander and Bonaparte, at Erfurt, reserved to Russia the right to make war against Turkey for the capture of the Danube provinces, and guaranteed security in possession of Finland. In 1808, Sweden concluded a treaty with England which was the signal for an immediate invasion by Russia. The Aaland Islands were taken and the Russian border pushed to Torneo. Alexander guaranteed Finland as a Grand Duchy with its own privileges, university and constitution. In 1811, Russia was forced to discontinue another personal war with Turkey owing to relations with France becoming strained. War with Persia had begun in 1806 and lasted until 1813, when more serious events faced Alexander.

Rupture with Bonaparte.—Misunderstanding between Alexander and Bonaparte became acute. Among other causes for this the following appear:

- (a) The growth of the Grand Duchy of Warsaw (Poland under another name);
  - (b) The increasing rivalry of the two countries at Constantinople;
- (c) Napoleonic encroachments (since 1810) in northern Germany (menacing Russia's Baltic ports).

Hamburg, Bremen and Lubeck, heretofore free towns, had become French. Lubeck in particular menaced the Baltic where the Russians since Peter I had fought for outlet.

Napoleon's invasion of Russia has no place in a thesis on foreign relations, other than to demonstrate those characteristics which are inherent to the Slav in war as well as in peace. Resistance to the French army was nation-wide, it was racial, it was typical of the Russian character. It displayed tenacity, intrepidity, a total disregard for both time and suffering, and a philosophic acceptance of sacrifice and adversity. Note how these traits have been demonstrated through centuries of effort in acquiring natural boundaries and salt water outlets.

After the retreat of the Grand Army the Russians decided to take no more territory than would enable them to establish their frontier along the Vistula, flowing north into the Baltic. Subsequent foreign relations were determined entirely by the fortunes of war. Alexander I had now but one fixed purpose in his life, the total destruction of Napoleon Bonaparte; to accomplish this he bent every energy of his great character, and displayed a determination and political adroitness without which that end could not have been attained. This policy, epochal as it was, has no bearing other than of temporary political expediency, unless one may consider that it was so great as to include all those of lasting racial tendency.

Although the Russians pursued Napoleon into France itself, and their Emperor twice dominated the councils in Paris, they personally desired nothing more than the Vistula as their Western frontier. As the mightiest of the victorious nations their demands were logical and reasonable. Alexander realized that an unchecked Napoleon jeopardized all his country had through so much trial, wrested from Sweden and Turkey. As this is so the policies weaving through war, intrigue, and alliances, are all in logical sequence to the great Slav goal.

In dealing with Russian-Polish reconstruction (that country had by now been partitioned four times) Alexander showed himself a master diplomatist. He reëstablished it as a kingdom, with himself as King, but nevertheless with its own constitution, Senate and Chamber of Deputies.

Wars with Persia and Turkey. Polish Insurrection (1825-1855).

—Nicholas I was a paradox; in many ways he developed his country, in others he restricted it, notably in the matter of its foreign relations. He kept Russia in a sort of political quarantine in everything except war.

Disagreement over boundary lines caused war with Persia, which resulted in that country's defeat and the fixing of the frontier on the river Araxes (Ares).

Differences with Turkey having accumulated Nicholas took them up with energy, and in 1820, an ultimatum was acceded to by the Porte which. Among other disputed points, guaranteed Russian vessels free passage from the Black Sea to the Mediterranean. England and France became interested in this situation by reason of the question of Greece. They reached a conclusion as to Turkey's course of action, which so provoked that country as to cause hostilities, in which the Turkish fleet was annihilated. Under the shadow of a Holy War, England soon regretted this action and abandoned the French. The time now seeming ripe Nicholas declared war upon Turkey. This ended with two treaties, one covering certain political issues with various powers, and the other being a special treaty with Russia. It was provided that commerce in general, and Russian in particular, should have passage to and from the Black Sea.

In the meantime the Russian colonization in Asia had been quietly but steadily progressing until it reached the Armur River in the East, and the mountains and fierce native tribes lying to the North and West of India. England and Russia, now face to face in Asia, found they had conflicting interests.

Certain reactionary tendencies on the part of Nicholas unduly aggravated the people of Poland. These politically turbulent people magnified their grievances to the point of revolution, being stimulated by the examples of France, Italy and Belgium. The uprising was crushed and the Poles lost all the generous prerogatives given them by

Alexander. Henceforth their country was administered by the officers of the Tzar of Russia. The reaction of this caused strained relations with France, whose citizens were of pronounced Polish sympathy.

Expediency makes strange companions. The conflict of political interests drew Russia and Turkey together in an offensive and defensive alliance, which was brought about by the Egyptian army menacing Constantinople (1832). France and England protested and the alliance was never actually ratified, but in view of subsequent events this incident is worthy of comment.

Ouestions relative to the execution of certain Turco-Russian treaties having arisen, the Tzar sent an Ambassador to Constantinople for the purpose of having them reiterated and guaranteed. Turkey, feeling the backing of France, declined. In the intriguing that ensued the Emperor Nicholas informed the British Ambassador of his inmost intentions, which were to definitely settle with the Porte once and for all; he explained that if he could get Constantinople he would be indifferent to the rest of Europe. It did not occur to him that France and England could so soon forget Waterloo and St. Helena. On July 3, 1853, the Russian army crossed the Pruth. All efforts at peace failed. The destruction of the Turkish fleet in the Black Sea was a signal to admit the fleets of England and France; these drove the Russians into their ports. Out of these events developed the Crimean War. The landing of English, French and Turkish troops in the Crimea brought to light so much corruption in the internal life of Russia as to throw that country into a state of confusion that was not without influence in shaping immediate and future foreign relations.

Alexander II succeeded to a turbulent throne in 1855. Political conditions at home did not permit of maximum efforts being exerted in the Crimea, so peace was arranged by the treaty of Paris (1856). Arrayed against Russia were France, England, Austria, Prussia, Sardinia and Turkey; she lost domination over the Black Sea and the protectorate over the Eastern Christians. The toil and ambition of generations were brought to nought.

In the midst of internal reforms an uprising occurred in Poland (1861). The people were not strong enough to cause the Tzar any uneasiness, but they committed a political error in trying to induce the Baltic provinces to join them. This so exasperated the otherwise

kindly disposed Tzar as to cause him to suppress the revolutionists in a ruthless manner. France, England, and Austria united in making diplomatic protest, which resulted in driving Russia into an alliance with the only other power left, Prussia.

Asia and Europe.—Although affairs in Turkestan and Eastern Asia had been eclipsed by more important events in Europe, they had, nevertheless, been progressing in their own way. Russia, like England, had taken possession of much territory without formal declaration of annexation. The influence and interests of both countries gradually approached, especially to the North and West of India. China had concluded a treaty ceding Russia the right bank of the river Armur. Japan had ceded the Southern part of Saghalin Island. Russia sold to the United States her possessions in America (1867). Truly the Slav had advanced since leaving the forest-locked headwaters of the Volga, the Dvina and the Dnieper.

Foreign relations with Europe were more complex than with Asia. They were so intimately associated with the personal relations of ruling families as to invoke factors that do not appear on the surface; they were continually swayed by this or that political event of a day. The political isolation of Russia following the Crimean War and the Polish uprising resulted (as stated above) in an alliance with Prussia, to maintain which extraordinary sacrifices were made to Bismarck, under whose guidance the Germanic realm was being consolidated into a powerful Empire which had interests diametrically opposite to those of Russia on the Baltic, the Vistula and the Danube. It is recalled that the Empress Elizabeth found the Prussia of Frederick II too powerful, and fought the Seven Years' War as a consequence; and Alexander I dared to oppose Napoleon rather than have him dominate the ports of Northern Germany. Now Alexander II found it expedient to bind himself to a unified Germany which gave more causes for similar fears than ever before. How much this was due to political actuality and how much to royal inter-marriage, and how much to the fact that the German sovereign was Uncle to the Russian, it is not possible to determine.

The Franco-Prussian War overthrew the equilibrium of Europe in favor of Prussia. Russia had nothing to fear from France at that time, yet frowned Austria and Denmark into withholding their assist-

ance. This policy was probably more Imperial than national. The American diplomatic representative to Russia at that time is quoted as having said that the nation was pro-French and anti-German, and it was pointed out that the Prussian victory accentuated the danger to Russia through the Baltic Provinces and Poland. Germany profited much by the alliance; all Russia got was a modification of the treaty limiting her naval armament in the Black Sea.

In 1877-78, Russia and Turkey engaged in war to the death. The avowed cause was the atrocious rule of Islam over the Christians inhabiting the Balkan provinces. As the dominating Slav nation, Russia espoused the cause of Christianity. Back of it was Constantinople, of course. The armies of Alexander II won victories at a terrible cost, but eventually reached the walls of their age-long prize. The Turks capitulated. Even as the victorious soldiers were marching into the city they were halted by an ultimatum from England. Constantinople managed the Suez Canal; it was the gateway to all Asia, where the two nations already faced each other. At the Berlin Congress (1878) Russia was deprived of all she had fought for, save a certain freedom attained by the Balkan Slavs; whether this proved to be an unmixed blessing or not is at least debatable.

An Explanation of Russia's Expansion.—The death of Alexander II in 1881 seems to be the logical time at which to change the character of this thesis, to pass from a general outline of history in the sequence in which it transpired, to a specific but brief analysis of relations with individual countries. But it may not be inadmissable to precede this by a sort of general explanation. Russia as an autocracy has always been subject to the personal moods of the sovereign, and of his Ministers when authority was delegated to them. From the ninth century to 1881, the effort has been to trace a continuing foreign policy, consistent in spite of personalities and the vicissitudes of governments. Using this as a basis of supposition, or deduction, an anticipation of future foreign relations may be not illogically assumed.

Domestic stability and dependability are the foundation for all foreign effort. When these attributes obtain, foreign relations will follow certain understandable laws having to do with political economy, racial instincts, geographic necessity, religious tolerance and military power; but when these attributes are lacking, when there is

internal chaos, there will be also erratic and tangental dealings with other countries, based upon nothing more solid than a momentary impulse or a decision made in ignorance. Under such circumstances foreign relations will become either so uncertain as to cause suspicion, or cease altogether until domestic order is restored. The nation will become politically ostracized.

A distinction must be drawn between territory acquired by Russia in the following ways:

- (a) In search of permanent outlets on salt water; this is an economic and racial necessity.
- (b) In search of natural barriers for frontiers; this is a political and racial necessity.
- (c) In the process of colonizing (or spreading over) unoccupied land, or land that was occupied by other equally nomadic people; this was a phase in the development of the human race; it belonged to the primitive era, and the races involved were all primitive.
- (d) In retaking land which they considered rightfully theirs, i.e., any land mentioned in (a), (b), (c) above which had been wrested from them.

All the foregoing appear reasonable and just from a Russian point of view even though debatable by others, and Russian foreign relations are naturally based upon their own point of view. Also, it has been seen that in expansion involving these factors, Russia has manifested a consistency that is racial, outliving the whims of autocrats and the changes of political policies.

There remain two other causes for Russian expansion:

- (e) Religious prejudice, which has been chiefly aimed at Islam, and probably had Constantinople as background. History does not reveal any lasting determination to hold land so occupied; the object appears to have been to alleviate the condition of kindred races, after which Russia usually (if not always) withdrew from their soil.
- (f) Conquest. This deserves some special mention. Conquest, pure and simple, for the purpose of annexation, appears to have been limited to Asia. It was an Imperial idea of comparatively recent origin. Migration, expansion, or the wandering of nomadic people over disputed and almost uninhabited expanses, and the ensuing settlement and pioneer work involved in developing a wilderness, do

not constitute "conquest." Even when the more enterprising race obtains permanent title to the land by virtue of living upon it, and the title is guaranteed by the military power of their government which proceeds to annex the land, it still is not "conquest" in a political or military sense, although it may be so construed academically. Now Russia acquired most of her vast Asiatic holdings through pioneering, colonizing, settling and trading; the country thus developed was later "annexed." All of this appears natural and correct in the development of the earth's surface; it is not peculiar to the Slav race, although in its progress it may (and probably did) run counter to similar endeavors on the part of other races.

"Conquest," construed as the unjust acquisition of that which belongs to somebody else, was an Imperial political policy and not indicative of either the race or the nation; in fact it was the reverse. It was confined to the reign of Nicholas II, and localized in China, Korea and Persia. In all these places Russia originated nothing, but politically combated the precedents established by older and more advanced civilizations.

The foregoing is merely an effort to demonstrate, historically, that "conquest" per se, i.e., usurpation of the rights of others, has never been part of Russia's foreign policy, although it was once the policy of the last monarch. It has been seen that Russia has returned territory belonging to others except, and it must be conceded, when such territory involved her own racial prosperity, if not life; and except when such territory had originally been considered her own.

The following is a synoptical account of the acquisition of various Russian territories:

"Moscow was founded as a principality in the end of the thirteenth century, by Daniel, son of Alexander Nevski (of Novgorod). Vasili (1389–1485), Grand Prince of Moscow, and Vladimir acquired Suzdol, Murom, Vologda and other territories. Ivan III (1462–1505), acquired Perm in 1472, Novgorod in 1478, Iver in 1482, Vyatka in 1489, Rostoff and vast regions in the north, and made conquests from Lithuania as far Westward as the river Soga. Vasili (1505–1533), acquired Pskov in 1510, and Ryazan about 1521. Under Ivan IV Kazan was acquired in 1552, and Astrakhan in 1554. The Don Cossacks came under the protection of Russia, and a great part of Siberia

was added. The acquisition of Siberia went on through the seventeenth century. Under Alexis (1645-1676), Smolensk, Kieff, and the Eastern Ukraine were added about 1667. By the Treaty of Nystad, Peter the Great gained from Sweden Livonia, Esthonia, Ingria, and Karelia, which had been conquered several years previously. There was a small cession in Southern Russia by Turkey in the reign of Anna (1730-1740). Part of Finland was acquired by Elizabeth in 1743. Lithuania and a large part of Poland were acquired by the partitions of 1772, 1793, and 1795, under Catharine II. She received cessions from Turkey in the Peace of 1774, the terms of which enabled her to annex the Crimea (1783); annexed the Republic of the Saporogian Cossacks; gained territory from Turkey between the Bug and the Dniester in 1702; and annexed Courland in 1705. Paul annexed Georgia in 1801. Finland was conquered in 1808-09 by Alexander I, who also won Bessarabia from Turkey in 1812. By the treaties of 1815 a large part of the Duchy of Warsaw was assigned as the Kingdom of Poland to Alexander I. He added also Daghestan, Mingrelia, Imeritia, and Shirvan. Nicholas in 1828 acquired Erivan and Nakhitchevan from Persia, and in 1829 Poti and other fortresses near the Eastern shore of the Black Sea from Turkey, and received the submission of the Kirghis. Under Alexander II the Caucasus practically submitted in 1859. The Armur territory was gained in 1858; the Khanate of Samarkand was gained in 1868; and Bokhara became a vassal state. Russian America was ceded to the United States in 1867. Khiva became a vassal state in 1873. The Chinese province of Kuldja was acquired in 1871, was retroceded in 1881. Khokand was annexed in 1876. The strip of Bessarabia lost in 1856, was regained in 1878, and Kars and Batum were gained at the same time. Geok-Tepe was taken in 1881. The Mervr oasis submitted in 1884. The region around Pendjeh, in Northwestern Afghanistan, was gained in 1887-1888." \*

This synopsis is accurate enough to include 1888. It is seen that almost all these territories were inhabited by Slavs, so their acquisition by Russia simply means they were united into a homogenious country. That not inhabited by Slavs was either disputed territory, a sort of

<sup>\*</sup> The Century Dictionary and Cyclopedia, vol. ix. Article-Russia.

No Man's Land, or in the case of outlets, politically and economically vital for the Slavs.

The only period of expansion since 1888 was that attempted by Nicholas II in his efforts to attain a warm water port South of Vladivostock. To that end he made unjustifiable encroachments upon both China and Korea, invading Japan's sphere of influence to such an extent as to cause that country to go to war. Important as this event was, it was nevertheless no more than an incident, and has little bearing upon Russian foreign-relations, other than to show their continuous trend.

Russia and the World War.—The complexity of political alliances during the World War either refutes or proves every historical precedent; it merely depends upon how the subject is handled. Probably the Tzar's government decided that by siding with France and Great Britain it would have a better chance to reach the Bosphorus and the Persian Gulf than by association with the Central Powers; Germany's grip on both these water ways had already become a menace to Russia as well as to Great Britain. In studying the continuity of foreign relations the aftermath of the War is more interesting than the War itself. For example, it is worthy of notice that those countries which ceded from Russia are precisely the ones that Russia has been at such pains to amalgamate in the past; they are the border states; they control the mouths of rivers and the salt water ports. Their secession leaves Russia just as it was in the turbulent past, i.e., land locked. No matter how badly Russia needed egress in the past she needs it even more now, and in due time will proceed to get it. A casual glance at the artificial boundaries will convince as to their temporary and untenable character.

Diplomatic correspondence preceding and during the War has small place in this article; it was pursuant to the hectic political policies of the time being. The reasons for Russia's entry into the war are enigmatical. Even conceding Constantinople as part of the spoils (as was later found to be the case), and even a possible exit through the Persian Gulf, it still does not appear that the reward justified the price. German ambitions to the same ends were probably instrumental in helping to reach the decision. The real reasons for the war cannot be proven to the satisfaction of any but those who are presenting the

proof; they are as diversified as the nations that participated, and all are equally convinced in their reasoning and conclusion. Russia was bound to France by ties of finance as well as treaty. Be all this as it may, and no matter what the underlying reason was, it is a fact that Russia lived up to the treaty obligation to the last word of spirit as well as letter. For present purposes, however, it is enough to bring out the fact that Russia was promised Constantinople, which would have left but one of the economico-racial ambitions gratified, *i.e.*, an all-year port on the Pacific.

We will now pass to a short discussion of Russia's relations with individual countries, always treating the subject from a point of race, and without reference to the idiosyncrasies of any existing oligarchy.

Relations with Great Britain.—They have always been marked by mutual suspicion. Their interests conflict in China and Central Asia; they clash to the North and West of India and in Persia; they reach a deadlock at the Bosphorus, where Great Britain has more than once thwarted Russian ambition. All ties with Great Britain have been of temporary expediency. The two countries are so politically opposed as to be racially antithetic.

Conclusion.—There is no reason to suppose that the future will differ from the authentic past. Racial and economic necessities not having changed, Russia may be expected to clash with Great Britain over the Bosphorus, over political control in Persia, over trade and political control in territories contiguous to Northern India, and over an all-year port in China. All this connotes traits inherent in the Russian and antagonistic to British interests. No theory is advanced as to when, or the order in which, this will take place. Time is not a criterion in Russian development.

Relations with France.—In the past the two countries have been drawn together through mutual antipathy toward England and Germany. Their relations, in spite of two notable setbacks, are traditionally sympathetic. Although they have clashed, their racial instincts compliment each other, and their political interests have never seriously converged.

Conclusions.—Cordial relations may be expected to be resumed as soon as Russia either overthrows the present unreliable oligarchy or evolves a more reputable form of government.

Relations with Germany.—Political affiliation with Germany has always been artificial, usually due to Imperial preference. The two races are non-sympathetic in spite of their reciprocal economic needs. Their political interests do not seem to clash, nor have they seriously done so except during the recent German efforts to extend over the Bosphorus toward Bagdad and the Persian Gulf. The Russo-German alliance against Napoleon was not so much an expression of mutual esteem as unity against a common danger.

Conclusion.—The two countries will doubtless develop close commercial ties to their mutual benefit. Politically they will continue to regard each other askance, but without open hostility.

Relations with Turkey.—Nothing having transpired to alter the conditions which have always been responsible for Russian efforts at Constantinople, it is but reasonable to suppose that, in due time, such will be renewed. Turkey, not being without influence and certain power in Asia Minor, the old reasons for conflict have not been removed.

Conclusion.—It is only a matter of time before Russia renews the old conflict for control of the Bosphorus, and to dominate in Asia Minor and Transcaucasia. This might or might not involve Great Britain; it probably would.

Relations with Sweden.—No recent events have developed any of the ancient causes for war.

Conclusion.—Relations with Sweden will continue to be negligible, although there may be diplomatic controversy over the possession of the Aaland Islands.

Relations with the Incriments of the old Austro-Hungarian Empire.—Negligible. See Poland.

Relations with Poland, Finland, and Other Countries that Have Seceded from Russia.—Here is presented an immediate and serious complexity. The existing situation has abundant historical precedent; it is analagous to the conditions surrounding old Russia, before the days of expansion. Ethnically all the people involved (except the Finns) are of Slavic stock; they differ from the Russians in political doctrines, religious creeds, and culture. They cling (Poland in particular) to certain national individuality. They cherish personal ambitions. They are all (even Poland to a limited extent) border states,

i.e., they surround Russia, controlling the Northern coasts and the seaports. Geographically the situation goes back to the days of Peter the Great. Frontiers are chimerical, mere imaginary lines running across an endless flat country; they are not ethnical, geographical, commercial, national, strategical, or tactical. They separate nothing, and the population on any one side has equal affiliation with the other sides. The racial instinct which, since the ninth century, has driven Russia to seek outlets is stronger now than ever before. These lands have been won and lost many times in the past, and they never failed to be won again. The reaction is so regular as to be considered normal.

Conclusion.—All countries which have seceded from Russia will be retaken, and for the same reason that they were taken in the first place. This will probably bring no serious protest from any other country. Germany will be satisfied, as this will give promise of some of her own lost territory being recovered. France will offer no objection, as she wants an Eastern counterpoise against Germany, and has assisted Poland to that end. When Russia is reconstructed Poland will no longer serve the purpose, and Russia will. Great Britain will have no interests at stake that would justify opposition (other than argumentative). The incriments of Austria-Hungary will be unable to prevent it even if they should so desire.

Relations with Japan.—During the Eastward migration of the Russians, Japan offered no opposition until her sphere of influence was dangerously encroached upon. She ceded the Southern half of Saghalin Island to Russia during the reign of Alexander II (1825–1855). It was only when Russia occupied Port Arthur and showed unmistakable signs of further aggressions in China and Korea that Japan declared war. It will be a long time before Russia is in a position to retrieve the losses she then incurred, but as she has lost her only open port on the Pacific, and as the need for it will revive again under a stable government, the effort will probably be made. It is idle to speculate as to when this will be done, but the only effective frontier between the Russian and Japanese races is that of salt water.

Conclusion.—Although there may be local discord between Japan and Russian factions there will be no major effort on the part of either for many years.

Relations with the United States.—The interests of these two countries have never converged. Their cordial relations have been of a routine nature, emphasized by the sale of Alaska to the United States in 1867. During the American Civil War the Tzar sent his fleet to the United States with a friendly offer of help, but this was probably more political than anything else, to offset the visible friendship of England for the Confederacy. The only disagreeable incident to mar the continued amity was the abrogation of the Russian treaty by the American Government in 1912, it being alleged that Russia would not grant to American Jews more privileges than were granted to those of her own nationality.

Conclusion.—There is no possibility of serious friction between Russia and the United States.

Summary.—There is a probability of serious differences between Russia and Great Britain arising over the possession of trade routes to Asia.

It is only a matter of time before there are hostilities with Turkey and certain of the Transcaucasian tribes, due to control of the Bosphorus and the route to the Persian Gulf.

The most probable seat of immediate war, waged with all available power, lies in Poland and the small nations to the North, bordering on the Gulf of Finland. As Russia has rectified her boundaries and sought Balkan ports in the past, so will she do again in the future, retaking that which has been lost and is considered rightfully hers.

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### ANNUAL FIELD EXERCISES OF THE MARINE CORPS EAST COAST EXPEDITIONARY FORCE

HREE hundred miles of hiking on Virginia roads, including the Valley Pike through the Shenandoah Valley of Virginia, a great historical spectacle, about two weeks of battle exercises and three football games were the outstanding features of the third annual field exercises of the Marine Corps East Coast Expeditionary Force, held from August 27th to October 6th of the present year.

In the neighborhood of three thousand Marines took part in the field exercises, including a regiment of infantry, a detachment of field artillery and detachments of auxiliary troops of various descriptions. The Expeditionary Force as a whole formed the nucleus of a small but well equipped military organization, capable of performing independent duties of a suitable tactical nature in an efficient manner. The force was commanded by Brigadier General Smedley D. Butler, Commanding General, Quantico, Va., and was provided with a staff by the Marine Officers' School of that post.

Starting from Quantico August 27th, the Marine force marched first across the tidewater littoral of Virginia, entering the Shenandoah Valley by the passes of Rock Fish Gap, west of Charlottesville. For the first ten days of the hike heavy rains were encountered, turning the clay roads covered by the route into a sea of mud through which the Marine force struggled with the greatest difficulty. On a number of nights tropical rains inundated the camp and drenched the bedding and supplies, multiplying the discomforts of officers and men who had toiled all day through the mud.

Throughout this difficult period, however, morale was at a high pitch. Inspired by the example of General Butler, the Marine infantrymen toiled for days at a time lifting and pulling heavy trucks and motor vehicles out of mudholes and sinks formed in the soft clay roads. In some cases the united efforts of two hundred men were required on pulling ropes to drag the heavy vehicles through the worst spots, but in spite of the toil and difficulty the men remained cheerful and preserved an excellent spirit.

On reaching the Shenandoah Valley, weather conditions greatly

improved, and although there were a number of wet days conditions as a whole were favorable. From Charlottesville, which was reached September 6th, the command moved to Fort Defiance, about ten miles from Staunton, where they made a permanent camp September 10th. Here the force engaged in tactical exercises, battle practice, etc., until preparations were begun for the historical reproduction of the Battle of New Market, which was held at New Market, Virginia, about forty miles north of the Marine Camp at Fort Defiance, on Thursday, September 20th.

The historical spectacle reënacted by the Marine force was the Civil War battle which took place at New Market, Va., May 15, 1864, between the Union army commanded by Major General Franz Sigel and the Confederate army under the command of General J. C. Breckinridge. This battle is a classic in the annals of Virginia, because of the part played in it by the cadet regiment of the Virginia Military Institute. It was faithfully reproduced in historical detail according to plans prepared by the staff of the Expeditionary Force, with Marines representing the regulars of both the Northern and Southern armies, and with the cadet regiment of the Virginia Military Institute of the present day reënacting the part played by the original cadet regiment in the Civil War battle.

The Secretary of the Navy, Governor E. Lee Trinkle of Virginia, the Commandant of the Marine Corps and numerous high ranking officers of the Army, Navy and Marine Corps were the guests of the Expeditionary Force at the historic pageant, which was pronounced by Governor Trinkle as the most impressive ceremonial of the kind ever seen in his State. One of the largest crowds ever assembled in Virginia, estimated at more than 150,000, blackened the hills surrounding the battlefield, and more than twenty thousand automobiles were counted in the parking spaces provided by the local authorities, the Virginia State Highway Commission and the military police detachment of the Marine force which combined in providing facilities and making arrangements for the affair.

Following the historic reproduction of the New Market battle, the Marine force journeyed to Lexington, Va., about thirty miles south of their permanent camp at Fort Defiance, where they witnessed the football game between the Marine Team and the Virginia Military Institute eleven. In this game the Marine Team suffered its first

defeat in three years, losing to the V. M. I. representatives by the score of 6-o.

On September 24th, camp was broken at New Market and the march up the Shenandoah Valley was begun. Passing up the Valley Pike, the force crossed the Shenandoah River at Castleman's Ferry, marched through Leesburg and Berryville, arriving in Washington October 5th. On the last day of the hike the force was met by Colonel Theodore Roosevelt, Assistant Secretary of the Navy, and the Commandant of the Marine Corps, on horseback, who accompanied General Butler and his staff to Washington. On the night of October 5th the Marine force encamped at Camp Meigs, Washington, after a parade through the city and through the White House grounds, where they were reviewed by President Coolidge and a distinguished gathering, including Admiral Eberle, Chief of Naval Operations, Secretary Denby and others.

On October 6th, the force marched to American League Park, Washington, where the annual football game between the Marine eleven and the Georgetown University team was played, in which the Marine squad redeemed itself for its previous poor showing by turning

in a victory by the score of 14-3.

On October 7th, the force was embarked in barges on the Potomac River and returned to Quantico by water. During the hike the force marched a distance of about two hundred and ninety-two miles over Virginia roads in a marching time of about twenty-two days, making an average in the neighborhood of thirteen miles a day. In addition, another hundred miles was covered by the troops in the course of field manœuvres and military exercises. The Marine force came through the hike in magnificent condition, and it was the unanimous opinion that much experience of an invaluable nature was obtained, both by officers and men in performing work required of Marines under field conditions. During the field exercises there was no sickness of a serious nature, no serious injuries, and after the first few days, practically all the men of all organizations reached camp on schedule time without straggling or men being obliged to fall out.

### MAPPING ACTIVITIES AND COMPILATION OF HAND-BOOKS BY THE SECOND BRIGADE, U.S.M.C., IN THE DOMINICAN REPUBLIC

By Second Lieutenant Leslie H. Wellman, U.S.M.C., Brigade Intelligence Officer and Director of Mapping, Second Brigade, U. S. Marines.

#### I. MAPPING ACTIVITIES

URING the years 1916–1921 of the military occupation of the Dominican Republic, no systematic or well directed effort was made to produce a military map. On account of the absence of suitable maps, it was found to be extremely difficult to conduct the simplest military operation, even though there existed an extensive knowledge of the country due to the organizations having occupied the territory over a long period of time.

There were on hand in the various organizations, however, a great number of maps and road sketches which had been made in the past by the efforts and energy of individual officers. They were found to lack uniformity and accuracy, and while most of them were good in themselves, they were of little use in making a combined map of the whole Republic or of any particular area.

The most accurate and useful military map covering any considerable area of the Dominican Republic was the Samana Bay Survey, made in 1919, by the Fourth Regiment, U.S.M.C. This was a contoured map drawn to the scale of 1½"-1 mile, comprising eight sheets representing the territory contiguous to Samana Bay.

In addition to the Samana Bay Survey, there also existed an excellent survey of certain areas made by the Dominican Topographical Survey under the supervision of the U. S. Geological Survey. This was also a contoured map and was drawn to the scale of 1:100000. This map was in the process of preparation over a period of five years, but due to the lack of sufficient funds for its completion, only a comparatively small portion of the island had been covered.

The generally used map of the Dominican Republic was the "Mapa de la Isla de Santo Domingo Y Haiti, por El General Casimiro N. de Moya," officially adopted in 1905 by resolution of the Dominican

National Congress, scale 1:400000, which was corrected from time to time from data procured from terrestrial observations and hydrographic surveys. The forces of occupation used this map to some extent, but the scale was too small to include any great amount of military information. Consequently it was of little value other than showing the approximate location of cities of importance, together with the supposedly travelled routes between them. The coast line and the main interior cities were found to be fairly accurate, however.

The task which then confronted the Brigade in the compilation of a good military map of the Dominican Republic was to devise a "control" of the island and send out parties to sketch in the complete network of roads and trails with the accompanying details, at the

same time utilizing the existing maps as far as possible.

The Brigade Intelligence Office prepared a skeleton map showing the locations of the principal towns and the coast line of the Dominican Republic on the scale of one inch equals one mile. The Hydrographic Charts of the coast line made by the U. S. Navy (U. S. S. Dolphin, U. S. S. Eagle, U. S. S. Detroit, U. S. S. Nashville, U. S. S. Des Moines, U. S. S. Denver, and U. S. S. Despatch) from 1905 to 1915, were in use in the actual construction of the coast line in the "control." For the interior locations (cities), the De Moya Map itself was used. The projection was devised and computed in October, 1921, and the "control" sheets were drawn up, plotted and assigned to each district prior to January 1, 1922. The Polyconic Projection was based upon the 70th Meridian and the 20th Parallel.

The angles of declination for each sheet were computed from a chart of isogonic lines drawn up from the 1922 variations as existing on the U. S. Hydrographic Charts. The "control" was prepared on sheets covering an area 60,000 yards east and west, by 40,000 yards north and south. The sheets were ruled into rectangular coördinates 10,000 yards square and were forty-four in number, of which nineteen were assigned to the Fourth Regiment (Northern District); eighteen to the Third Regiment (Southern District); and seven to the Fifteenth Regiment (Eastern District). The assignments were based on each district area as closely as possible. The "number" of the coördinate (grid) lines indicated the number of thousands of yards east or north of origin of the grid system which is to the south and west of the island. The number designated for the beginning of the map of the Dominican Republic was assigned as 600–40, so as to allow for the taking in of a similar series of numbers for the Republic

of Haiti, in case that area would be reduced to the same scale and system. Should that transpire, there will be no negative values of coördinates existing at any place within the two republics. The true meridians and parallels for each ten minutes over the entire area were plotted on the "control" sheets in dotted lines, thereby facilitating the accurate plotting of any geographically located point directly upon the system of control adopted. The magnetic meridian with the mean variation from the grid lines for the area covered by each sheet were shown also on the margin of each sheet. This enabled the draftsmen in the various offices to plot any sketch, or series of sketches, directly upon the "control" sheet, as all field maps made by parties in the field were done with the magnetic north placed thereon. The true meridian was also placed on the sheets, so as to allow the plotting of any sketch (or data from the Dominican Topographical Survey especially) without further computations.

Therefore, in order to completely cover the island, and at the same time not have too many sheets, the scale of the proposed map was made one inch to the mile for the whole Republic and three inches to the mile for certain important sections. The sketches were made on the scale of three inches to the mile, and later a series of them were reduced to the former scale and plotted simultaneously to the "control" in their proper relation. Then the original sketches were used to complete the three-inch sheets direct.

The map shows the complete network of trails and roads, together with all prominent landmarks, but is not contoured. The nature of the country, however, such as mountainous, hilly, rolling, plain, etc., was indicated. It was found by practical experience in the Army Service Schools and the Marine Corps Schools, that a map showing the complete network of roads without contours may be made to answer all ordinary military purposes. For this reason, and due to the tremendous amount of time and labor involved in training of personnel, together with the lack of proper instruments necessary to make a complete contoured map of such a large area, it was decided to omit contours entirely. The doubtful value of contours along the roads such as ordinarily shown on a road sketch did not justify the delays which would have resulted in the training of men to do accurate contouring.

With the view of securing uniformity in all organizations, complete instructions regarding instruments, methods to be used, conventional signs, methods of compilation, etc., were issued by the Brigade Intelligence Office in the form of circulars. These circulars were of such nature that men could be trained in the preparation of the necessary maps without the use of other text-books. These instructions were divided into the following circulars and sent in sufficient numbers to each organization:

Circular No. 1 General Instructions re Proposed Map.

Circular No. 2 Standardizing Strides.

Circular No. 3 Instruments.

Circular No. 4 Sketching methods.

Circular No. 5 Conventional Signs.

Circular No. 6 Miscellaneous Instructions of Sketchers.

Circular No. 7 Control maps, uses and instructions for.

Circular No. 8 Miscellaneous data pertaining to mapping.

Each circular was accompanied by numerous blueprints setting forth in detail exactly the methods to be employed in the compilation. The Conventional Signs were taken from the regular sets laid down in texts in use by the Marine Corps, together with some few additions peculiar to conditions existing on this island. Each organization was requested to furnish a set of proposed conventional signs, and from those sets the uniform Conventional Signs for all work was taken. The style of lettering, methods of reduction, plotting and adjustments were carefully and fully shown, so that there would be no lack of uniformity in the final result.

Each regiment was responsible for all mapping operations in its district, and early in 1922, instigated schools for the proper instruction of men along the lines set forth in the circulars. Mapping details in the Intelligence Section of each regiment were organized as follows:

Regimental Headquarters:	
Intelligence Officer	1
N.C.O. Assistant to above	1
Draftsmen	2
Clerks	4
Separate Posts or Detachments:	
Intelligence Officer	1
N.C.O. Assistant to and draftsman	1
Sketchers 10 per cent, of the enlisted strength,	

Men selected for sketching parties were those having a natural aptitude or liking for that class of work, and were given thorough instruction by their Regimental Intelligence Officers before taking the field.

The direction of all work rested in the Brigade Intelligence Office, where general instructions, supervision and assistance was rendered from time to time. The Regimental Intelligence Officer directed operations within his district as assisted by his own Post or Detachment Intelligence Officers.

The general procedure covered in the advance field operations was the sketching of all main roads and trails within the area assigned, and plotting same on the "control" sheets furnished. Then by gradually covering the other bull-cart roads and trails, a complete network of travelled routes was accomplished. The details sketched in the field were then transferred by offset or pantagraph directly to the "control" sheets.

As work progressed in the field, it became necessary to provide for certain "tie-in points" between one regiment and another. The designation of these places was made by the Brigade Intelligence Office as taken from the "control" itself, or from data forwarded by any one of the regiments which happened to have reached a locality of importance near the sheet limit of their own area. In this connection, it is to be noted that even with inexperienced men and the lack of good compasses, etc., very few adjustments were necessary, and those were in areas along the Haitian-Dominican Frontier in a very mountainous country. Many roads and trails were so accurately sketched and plotted that when they were finally transferred to the "control" sheets, no appreciable errors in closing resulted.

The Strategic map (one-inch sheets) covering the entire Dominican Republic is, as stated before, composed of forty-four sheets, each covering an area of 60,000 by 40,000 yards, and are further subdivided into twenty-four 10,000-yard squares. Each sheet is assigned a name following the system adopted by the U. S. Geological Survey for the maps of the United States. These names for the most part, are those of the most important city or prominent feature within that particular area covered by that sheet. A Key Sheet and Legend Sheet (600-40) accompanies each set.

In order to make a working size map of all the one-inch sheets combined, the Brigade Intelligence Office prepared a "four-sheet" Route and Town Map which could take the place of the formerly used De Moya Map itself. This "four-sheet" map is a reduction of all the one-inch sheets, scale one-quarter inch equals one mile, and is made in four sections. It shows the location of every city and town in the Republic, and the most important or generally used road or trail

to each place. An alphabetical list of all cities and towns together with their exact coördinates was compiled in the same office in pamphlet form (mimeographed) to accompany either the one-inch or the "four sheet" map. This is of great assistance in locating any place on the island when only the name is known. This list also shows the "De Moya" designation of each location, as it was found in many instances that the names of localities had been changed or were known be more than one name. Similarly, it was found that the present spelling differed from that found on the De Moya Map. The field sketchers procured the names of the towns from the local inhabitants as they passed through in the course of their traverses, and the district intelligence officers determined what name should be placed on the map in all cases where a locality was known by two or more names. The Spanish translation or interpretation of every location is also shown on this list. In this connection, it is interesting to note that in many cases the names of certain places, especially in the Eastern District, have their origin from the Carib Indian Tribe, which was supposed to have been the first inhabitants of the Island of Haiti, and who were the only people on this island when Columbus discovered it. There are some French translations for localities along the Haitian-Dominican Frontier which undoubtedly originated from the earlier rulers of the island before the Dominican Independence.

There was also prepared a small scale map (one-quarter inch to the mile) of the areas covered by the sugar estates, and while the data thereon is a replica of each sheet of the one-inch maps, it shows the location, extent and relation of the various sugar companies in the Republic.

In addition to the above special map, there is also drawn up a map called the "Political, Judicial and Administrative Map, Dominican Republic" which shows the extent of the twelve Provinces and their Communes in the Republic and their latest census figures obtainable.

Due to the small scale of the Strategic Map, many points of importance could not be shown as clearly as desired, consequently it became necessary to have those areas shown on a scale three inches to the mile. The choice of this scale came about for the reason that it necessitated no additional sketching or enlarging to merely trace the detail from the original sketches in their compilation. There are ninety-six of these three-inch sheets and each include one of the 10,000-yard squares of the Strategic Map. For the large part, the areas selected for the larger scale were those which included the most

important cities and towns, or areas covered by the sugar estates. The latter being the case in the Eastern District especially, as the majority of the sugar companies have their fields in that district. The Key Sheet is so devised that it shows all areas represented by these three-inch sheets together with their designation.

In addition to all the foregoing maps, a set of large scale maps of the various cities and towns were made. These maps are all tracings of aeroplane mosaics made by the Marine Aviation Forces attached to the Second Brigade. In making these mosaics many photographs were taken until a perfect mosaic resulted, and by combining same with existing ground maps made by sketchers (showing detail and location of principal buildings therein) of the same city or town, an extremely accurate and complete map of each was obtained. The scale of these maps of Cities and Towns vary somewhat on account of the difference in altitude when photographed, but the average is approximately 1:4000. A complete description and legend as well as the mileage to other places, appears on the sheet for each particular city or town. In cases of the larger cities, viz., Santo Domingo, San Pedro de Macoris and Santiago, an epitome of the description as found in the Hand-books of the Dominican Republic is also shown. All principal dwellings and public buildings are listed in the legend for each city. These sheets are twelve in number, and the more important or larger cities are placed on single sheets while two or more of the smaller towns appear on one sheet. They are as follows:

Sheet 1. Santo Domingo City.

Sheet 2. Santiago.

Sheet 3. San Pedro de Macoris.

Sheet 4. San Francisco Macoris.

Sheet 5. Barahona.

Sheet 6. La Romana.

Sheet 7. Puerto Plata.

Sheet 8. Azua, San Juan, San Cristobal.

Sheet 9. Hato Mayor, Seibo, Higuey.

Sheet 10. Monte Cristi, Dajabon.

Sheet 11. Moca, La Vega, Banao.

Sheet 12. Bani, Sanchez, Salcedo.

The mapping activities of the Second Brigade resulting in the "Strategic Map, Dominican Republic, 1922"; the "Road Map, Dominican Republic" (three-inch maps); and the various special and supplementing maps, consumed approximately six months' actual time in the field. The remainder of the time was spent in various

Intelligence Offices or the Brigade Intelligence Office in the compilation, tracing and blueprinting of the one hundred and fifty-nine separate sheets comprising the entire work. The projection and circulars for the mapping instructions were all prepared in the Brigade Intelligence Office before any great amount of work had taken place in the field. After the schools had been organized in the regiments, the work laid out and the field work started, a vast amount of labor was expended and a great number of miles traversed and sketched in a remarkably short period of time. The total number of men engaged in sketching in the Brigade never exceeded one hundred, and often it was considerably less. For the most part, it was found that it was not necessary to keep parties in the field for any great length of time, as they were able to reach some station for rest and re-supply before returning to their base by another route. Only a few of these parties were sent out for any great length of time, and they were all for the purpose of procuring detail in almost inaccessible areas in the mountainous regions along the frontier. It is to be noted that all sketching of the one-inch and three-inch sheets was done by enlisted men, many of whom had no previous experience. The schools held in the various organizations before the parties were permitted to go out were of the highest order. Because of the excellent work accomplished by these men, and for their "Esprit de Corps" at all times, each man has had proper notations entered in his service record.

Money spent in the making of these numerous maps of the Dominican Republic by the Second Brigade in 1922, amounted to less than \$1000, yet an area of over 19,000 square miles, much of which was extremely difficult to traverse, was covered in a very short time and in a very thorough manner. The results are well worth the time and money expended. It is now possible to "scrap" all prior maps which were of a very doubtful nature, and the organizations of the Brigade have been furnished with sufficient maps to meet all needs.

#### II. COMPILATION OF HAND-BOOKS

Coincident with the preparation of the Strategic Map, Dominican Republic, and the various supplemental maps connected therewith as mentioned above, the Second Brigade compiled a Hand-book of the Dominican Republic.

This hand-book is in two parts: The Southern District being discussed in Volume I, and the Northern District in Volume II. This

division of the treatise was occasioned by the fact that each of the districts mentioned are practically distinct and separate, due to both political and geographical conditions. In the case of the functioning of the American Forces of Occupation during the years of the Military Government and also the Policia Nacional Dominicana, the administration of the Republic was more or less based on the two sections. The Cordillera Central running east and west through the island Divides the Republic into approximately equal parts. Until the completion of the Carratera Duarte which now connects the Southern and Northern extremities of the island, this division was very marked in the political and economic condition of the country. In the compilation of this hand-book, the designation of Eastern District was disregarded as a major division, for upon the assumption of the Provisional Government in October, 1922, the Southern District was extended to include the said district.

During the period of the American occupation of the Dominican Republic, a great mass of information regarding resources, geographic features, conditions prevailing in the country both politically and economically, and numerous other items was collected. Several valuable reports were compiled in book form from time to time. The most notable was the "Compilation by the Navy Department" in 1916. A quite extensive study of the more important places then occupied by the Marines was made and numerous sketches and plates accompanied the text in amplification of the subject matter. This book was actually the only hand-book of the Republic until the present one was compiled. As 1916 marked the beginning of the occupation of Santo Domingo by our forces, the subjects covered in the book were quite inadequate for the latter years, because the then existing conditions had changed to a large extent. For the most part the resources remained the same as well as the general conditions of the towns themselves. However, with the advent of more stability in economical conditions throughout the entire Republic, due to possibly, the feeling of safety and security among the inhabitants and merchants, a changed period arose, and business developed and progressed very rapidly. The living conditions in the cities and towns became more satisfactory and an era of prosperity never before known came into existence. The report as covered in the Departmental publication required considerable amplification and addition to bring it up to date. The material covered in the report was found to be of excellent assistance in the preparation of the 1922 hand-book.

Several guides of the Dominican Republic and the West Indies were found to contain some valuable information, but they also, were quite inadequate for use as a military hand-book proper. These books were of the "travellers'" guide variety and dealt only with general matters which would be encountered by the commercial traveller.

The Military Government itself issued several publications on Santo Domingo, but these dealt largely with the military and political aspects of the Occupation and were not compilations intended for hand-books or monographs.

Probably the best commercial directory of the Dominican Republic was a publication edited in January, 1923, by a Dominican, Luis Peynado, entitled "Directorio, Industrial y Commercial de la Republic Dominicana," and sold generally throughout the island at a very nominal sum. This book was of great assistance in the preparation of the Brigade hand-book. The subject matter and directory of the various industries was found to be extremely accurate, and all facts were arranged in a logical and lucid manner. A brief statement of the contents of this publication is as follows:

Sketch of the Dominican Republic.
Sugar Production, 1917–1922.
Rainfall Dominican Republic, 1922.
Census Dominican Republic, 1922.
Distances in nautical miles from D.R. to foreign ports.
List of foreign diplomats and consuls.
Dominican Provisional Government (Directory).

Commercial and Industrial Directory of all the larger cities and towns in the Republic.

From time to time the Intelligence Officers of the brigade collected data of military importance throughout the island and submitted descriptions and detailed reports to the Brigade Intelligence Office for consolidation. These reports covered such items as sugar estates, railroads, roads and trails, rivers, products and numerous other items of great value to the occupying forces. There were also prepared periodically detailed reports of cities and towns which were accompanied by sketches showing housing and garrison facilities, together with all important matters pertaining thereto.

With all this data on hand there became the need of a compilation

that would include all the existing material as well as the information gathered in the field by the sketching parties while engaged in the mapping operations as discussed in the foregoing section.

The hand-book is in two parts, each complete in itself. Volume I pertains to the Southern District and Volume II to the Northern District. Volume I contains 251 mimeographed pages besides sixteen plates of various nature. Volume II contains 203 pages and twenty-six plates.

In order to completely cover all subjects of military importance in the compilation of this hand-book, the following "General Index" was used in both volumes:

Part I. Maps and Photographs.

Part II. General description of districts.

Chapter I. Geographical Outline-Topography.

Chapter II. Climate-Sanitation-Water Supply.

Chapter III. Resources.

Chapter IV. Food Supplies.

Chapter V. Manufacturing Industries.

Chapter VI. Transportation.

Chapter VII. Communication.

Chapter VIII. Inhabitants-Social Conditions.

Part III. Cities, Towns and Villages.

Part IV. Routes.

Chapter I. Roads and Trails.

Chapter II. Railroads.

Chapter III. Ports.

Chapter IV. Aerial.

Classes V Dilliams

Chapter V. Bibliography.

Chapter VI. Quartermaster Activities.

Each volume contains detailed information as to manufacturing industries as well as the numerous foreign interests represented in the Republic. Statistics regarding automobiles, rainfall, newspapers, telegraphs, telephones and agricultural products were carefully compiled and incorporated in the form of plates and tables.

Blueprints of the ground plan of all the most important cities and towns as well as the positions occupied by the Marines at the present time or which could be utilized were procured by the field parties engaged in mapping. There is set forth under each city or town shown a detailed description as outlined in a foregoing paragraph.

An accurate tabulation of the most important roads and trails

between all cities and towns of the Republic shows the following important information:

Route No. Total distance (kms. and miles).

To— Via— Map Ref. (Sheet—).

Cities and Towns—distance from initial point.

Nature, width and depth of metal.

Maximum up grade and downgrade curvature.

Bridges and overhead crossings; fords, ferries, cuts and fills.

Water supply along route.

Notes applicable.

Branch roads or trails, nature of, destination and distance.

Railroads were described and numerous photographs serve to show the nature of the rolling stock, condition of the roadbeds and terminals. As there are no standard gauge railway systems in the island, transportation in this respect is a slow and tedious process. The sugar companies have extensive trackage for hauling cane from their outlying fields to the mills, and these are generally in good repair. The reports embodied in this section of the hand-book include the nature of the rolling stock, number and capacity of cars and facilities for motive power.

Each port of entry is also described to the fullest possible extent, and includes such items as:

Port Administration.

Labor Conditions.

Location and description of piers.

Floating equipment.

Docking facilities.

Warehouse facilities.

A table of airplane landing fields shows location, size and character of ground as well as the conditions to be encountered at each field during any part of the year. In this connection there is also included in the hand-book in the form of a plate, an airplane route map which shows the most generally travelled air routes followed at the present time by the Observation Squadron attached to the Second Brigade.

Road construction during the Military Occupation progressed most satisfactorily, and is evidenced by the great number of motor vehicles in use in the Republic. Intercourse between cities and towns in the island was very limited, prior to the advent of good roads. The Department of Public Works has accomplished much in the unification of the Republic, and has created through its road building

an impetus to both agriculture and industry. A chart showing the Public Works results in the construction of roads during the years 1916-1922, and a tentative program up to 1924 is added thereto.

As a supplementary material to the hand-books, there were prepared in the Brigade Intelligence Office, several photograph albums which serve to visualize the places of particular importance covered in the text proper. These photographs are single exposures taken at an altitude of about 8000 feet. One album contains only oblique pictures, while the remainder contain those taken directly above the objects or places. By careful examination and study of these photographs, mosaics, ground maps and sketches of the same in conjunction with the descriptions thereof as found in the hand-books, no difficulty would be experienced in forming an extremely accurate mental picture of any city or town of the Republic thus shown.

The final chapter in the hand-book deals with Quartermasters' activities and includes a list of persons doing business with the forces of occupation.

The work of mimeographing the pages and tables of Volume II (Northern District), was accomplished by the Fourth Regiment Intelligence Office, located at Santiago. The Brigade Intelligence Office at Santo Domingo City completed the same work for Volume I (Southern District), and in addition, prepared and blueprinted the majority of plates and sketches for both volumes. Fifty-five copies of each volume were prepared and distribution was made from the latter office. All copies are marked "Confidential" and are serially numbered. The first twenty-two copies of each volume have been forwarded to the Major General Commandant, Division of Operations and Training. The Commanding General, Second Brigade, Chiefof-Staff, Second Brigade and the Regimental Commanders concerned have copies as well. The remaining copies are in the charge if the Brigade Intelligence Officer, to be issued from time to time to other organizations, and will be handled in accordance with regulations and instructions governing like publications of the Navy Department and the Marine Corps.

# FRAGMENT OF WAR POEM

"It is into the woods we go, my sons!

It is into the Bois we go!

'Tis there we'll check and turn the Huns,

In the wildwood of Belleau!

And yonder's a town that we must take!"

Said brave old Sergeant Daish.

"Go get it and hold it for the old Corps' sake—
'Tis the town of fair Bouresches!"

Then into that hell they went pell-mell,

The men of the Corps Marine;
Tho' shot and shell from the enemy fell,
And tore their ranks between—
On, on they press'd! And firm they stood—
Stout hearts and eyes so keen.
They took Bouresches! France nam'd the wood,
"Le Bois de Brigade Marine!"

They were heroes who turned the tide that day,

They were men at their manly best;

For the Devil-Dogs fought in the Leatherneck way—
And the Germans can tell you the rest!

They fought—and some stay with Sergeant Daish,
He of the quip and the yarn,
In the quiet graveyard near Bouresches,
In the Valley of the Marne!

From "Near Bethlehem and Other Poems" by J. Edgar Smith.

The GAZETTE is indebted for this poem to Major J. C. Smith, to whom it was forwarded by Lieutenant Commander Hempstone, U. S. N.

# MARINE CORPS RIFLE TEAM WINS NATIONAL MATCHES

APPING the climax of a phenomenally successful season, the Marine Corps Rifle Team won the National Rifle Team Match at Camp Perry, Ohio, September 26th and 27th, with the phenomenal score of 2836, sixty-three points better than the Cavalry Team, which won second place, and seventy points ahead of the Infantry Rifle Team, which finished in third place. The present victory is the third consecutive win scored by Marine Corps teams in the National Matches during the past three years, and brings the Marine Corps aggregate to six victories in the National Matches during the past seven years.

The Marine Corps Team got off to on auspicious start at the opening of the National Matches, finishing the offhand stage, at which the Marines were suppposed to be weak, on a level with the Infantry Team, which had been expected to pile up a formidable lead in this stage of the match. Following the offhand stage the Marines went into the lead, from which they were never ousted, adding to their advantage as stage after stage was concluded, until other contestants lost hope, so that the match was virtually conceded in its final stages. When it is realized that in the present year's competitions the "A" target has been substituted for the "D" or silhouette target at the 200 and 300 yard rapid-fire stages, the splendid score made by the Marine Team can be better appreciated.

During their stay at Camp Perry besides the National Matches, the Marine Corps Team scored a series of phenomenal victories, including among them the Enlisted Men's Team Match, the President's Match, the Wimbledon Cup Match, the Palma Match, the United Service Match and many others, piling up a total of twenty-two victories from among the matches on the Camp Perry program.

Prominent among the Marine victories was the work of Sergeant Morris Fisher, who was the high gun in the American Team which won the Twentieth International Match with Free Rifle. In these matches Sergeant Fisher broke all records in international shooting with a score of 1090 points, 14 points ahead of the world's record, previously held by a member of the former champion Swiss team. In

this match the American team of which Fisher was the high gun, also broke the world's team record in International Match shooting by 192 points. Another victory of note was the winning of the All-round Championship Match, including military rifle, smallbore rifle, pistol and shotgun competitions by Gunnery Sergeant John M. Thomas, of the Marine Corps.

The victories of the Marine Team at Camp Perry followed a series of equally brilliant successes in the matches at Wakefield and at Sea Girt. In the matches on the New Jersey range the Marine Team piled up a total of sixteen victories from among the matches on the program, including such famous matches as the Sea Girt National Team Match, the Swiss Match, the Libbey Trophy Match, the Sea Girt National Pistol Team Match, the Roe Match, the New York Revolver Team Match and a number of others.

At the Wakefield Matches the Marine Team piled up a total of fourteen victories, including the Lynch Match, the Homer Match, the Hayden All-America Match and others.

The Marine Rifle and Pistol Team this year was commanded by Captain Marion B. Humphrey and coached by Captain William W. Ashurst. Members of the National Rifle Team were Captain Joseph Jackson, First Lieutenant Raymond T. Presnell, Second Lieutenant Pierson E. Conradt, Sergeant Major Leo P. Cartier, First Sergeant Nolan Tillman, Gunnery Sergeant Phil E. Clary, Sergeant Raymond O. Coulter, Corporal James R. Tucker, Private First Class George D. White and Private First Class James B. Alexander.

# THE CONQUEST OF CALIFORNIA

By Major Edwin N. McClellan, U.S.M.C.

AMES KNOX POLK kept a diary during the time he served as President of the United States of America. On Thursday, October 30, 1845, he wrote in it: "I held a confidential conversation with Lieutenant Gillespie, of the Marine Corps, about eight o'clock P.M., on the subject of a secret mission on which he was about to go to California. His secret instructions and the letter to Mr. Larkin, U. S. Consul at Monterey, in the Department of State, will explain the object of his mission." A careful consideration of all the matter bearing on this subject shows that the mission of Lieutenant Gillespie was to carry a message from President Polk to the three representatives of the United States on the Pacific Coast—The American Consul at Monterey, the Commander of the U. S. Naval Forces, and Captain John C. Fremont of the Army, who was on a topographical mission in California. Stripped to its principal requirement this message was a direct order to obtain California for the United States, peaceably if possible but by force if necessary—California must not be lost to a foreign power.

We will now leave Lieutenant Gillespie with President Polk in the President's Mansion for the time being, in order to describe the important events that preceded the Conquest of California in 1846 and 1847.

California had seceded from Mexico in 1836 and adopted, like Texas, a Lone Star Flag. The Mexican troops were expelled and J. B. Alvarado, Mariano Guadalupe Vallejo and Jose Castro assumed control. Two years later Mexico recognized the California Government, but still claimed the territory.

Several American war vessels visited the ports of California during this early period. Among them was the *Peacock* that anchored in Monterey Harbor on October 23, 1836, and stayed there five days. The visit was for the purpose of enquiring into the seizure of the brig *Loriot* and cargo and the confinement of her supercargo.

At this time the actions of the great powers of Europe created a belief in Mexico that they desired a foothold in California. As a result the Mexican Government was suspicious of all foreigners residing in her northern provinces. These suspicions broke out into action in April, 1840.

# THE OUTRAGE OF 1840

While lying at Mazatlan, Mexico, with his ship, the St. Louis, Commander French Forrest received information of some outrageous proceedings on the part of the Californian Government toward British and American citizens residing in that territory, which induced him to make a visit to Monterey, the capital of Upper California. Over sixty American citizens and British subjects had been arrested, robbed of their arms and other property, their houses forced open, and they fired at while in their beds, and, without any attempts at defence, were dragged to a loathsome jail and there incarcerated for about twenty days. Some of the prisoners were subsequently discharged, while forty-seven of them, strongly ironed, were transported to San Blas, via sea, a distance of over 1200 miles. All this was done without any civil process, conviction, or trial whatever. One of the prisoners, an American by the name of Duger, died at San Blas. All were charged "with an intent to revolutionize California." The outrage unquestionably had its origin in a disposition or conspiracy, on the part of some of the Government officers, to expel the foreigners from the country, and to possess themselves of the fruits of their industry; at the head of this conspiracy was one Jose Castro, the prefect or head police magistrate of California.

These "atrocities," as Secretary of the Navy James K. Paulding called them, committed on the foreign residents at Monterey and its neighborhood, by the Mexican authorities, did not pass without notice from the Navy. Commodore French Forrest, in command of the St. Louis, anchored his ship at Monterey on June 15, 1840, at 3.15 P.M. By his prompt and spirited interposition he vindicated and secured the rights not only of American citizens, but of British subjects resident in Upper California. The Marine Guard of the St. Louis was in charge of Orderly Sergeant James Robinson. For these services Commander Forrest received a formal expression of the thanks of the American and English residents, and on July 5th sailed from Monterey for the East Coast via Cape Horn.

AMERICAN FLAG RAISED AT MONTEREY IN 1842 BY COMMODORE JONES

The next important incident occurred in the year 1842. The Mexican press was doing all it could to create a fighting temper, and at times President Tyler himself was at a loss to see how war could be avoided. In the Washington Globe of March 6, 1840, we read under the heading of "Cession of the Californias," that "the New Orleans papers speak of information received in that city from Mexico, stating that negotiations are on foot between the English and Mexican Governments for the cession of California to the former. The Bulletin of the 19th ultimo alludes to several circumstances which render such a movement highly probable."

The New Bedford Mercury published the following news item sent from Monterey on September 30, 1841: "California must in time become a place of vast importance, the land, harbors and climate, being the best in the world; San Francisco being the very best. Should John Bull obtain this country, the owners of American whalers may bid farewell to their ships in the Pacific, in case of war between England and America."

An exploring expedition composed of the Vincennes, Peacock, Porpoise, and Flying Fish visited the California Coast in 1841. The Peacock was lost at sea off the mouth of the Columbia River on June 11th of that year. The Vincennes and the other vessels anchored of San Francisco in August of 1841, and their boats explored 300 miles up the Sacramento River.

Commodore Thomas A. P. Catesby Jones, in command of the United States Naval Force in the Pacific, was lying in the port of Callao, Peru, during the latter part of the summer of 1842. His flagship was the *United States*, and with him were the *Cyane*, *Dale* and *Shark*. Marines served on each of these vessels. First Lieutenant George W. Robbins commanded the Marines on the *United States*, with Orderly Sergeant James L. Smith as his First Sergeant. Orderly Sergeant John Robinson was in charge of the *Cyane's* Guard; Orderly Sergeant Josiah Whitcomb was in charge of the Marines on the *Dale*; and a Sergeant's Guard was also stationed on the *Shark*.

On March 22, 1842, while he was at Rio Janeiro, Commodore Jones informed the Secretary of the Navy that "there is some speculation afloat as to the large increase of Naval Force sent to the Pacific by France and England." Two months later, on May 21st, he wrote to the Secretary of the Navy from Callao Bay that a large French expedition had sailed from Valparaiso, destination unknown, but possibly for the purpose of occupying the Sandwich Islands or California. On September 13th, Commodore Jones informed the Department that this expedition had occupied the Marquesas and

Washington Islands, but added a warning that California might be occupied by a foreign power. The suspicions entertained by Commodore Iones that either France or Great Britain might occupy Upper California were based on good grounds. He read in a Mexican newspaper that war probably existed between the United States and Mexico, and that Mexico had ceded California to England. Our American Consul at Mazatlan, John W. Parrott, sent him a letter and a copy of the El Cosmopolita, which did not leave much doubt but that war existed between the United States and Mexico. He also read a report in an American newspaper to the effect that Great Britain had purchased California. Commodore Jones, like most well-informed Americans, felt convinced that secret negotiations had been going on for quite a period of time between British and Mexican agents with a view to the cession of some portion of Mexican territory on the Pacific coast to Great Britain; Mexico being, it should be remembered, largely in debt to British citizens. The presence af the large British naval force in the Pacific at this time also caused Commodore Jones to believe the reports coming to him from his varying sources.

The American Commodore evidently had been put upon the alert by his own Government; the question of the annexation of Texas, then in agitation, having given unusual interest and prominence to Mexican affairs, and in the event of war between the two countries, it being manifestly the policy of the United States to seize upon California. It seemed likely to Commodore Jones that the British Admiral was now intending to take formal possession of the territory, supposed to have been ceded, and he deemed it his duty to forestall

or resist him in any such plan.

A conference of officers, presided over by Commodore Jones, concluded that in case war did exist the flag should be hoisted in all California ports, and if any European power did so, especially England, it would be "hostile to the true interest of the United States." He consequently sailed suddenly from Callao on the 7th of September, 1842, with the entire squadron, standing out to the westward. The Shark was soon sent back to Callao, and, shortly after, the Dale was detached with orders to proceed to Panama and land a special messenger with despatches for the Washington Government. The United States and Cyane then crowded on all sails for the coast of California.

The two ships anchored in the harbor of Monterey near the Castle at 2.45 P.M., on October 19th. The Mexican flag floated over

the town. There were no signs of British authority; so that the American Commodore was successful in being beforehand in respect to the British Admiral's supposed design. The "reiterated rumored cession of California to England" was confirmed by news that Commodore Jones received from the merchantman Fame lying in the harbor. His suspicions being also confirmed by what he heard and saw, Commodore Jones concluded to summon the Governor to surrender, and land a force to occupy Monterey. "The time for action has now arrived," he reported to the Secretary of the Navy. "If Admiral Thomas should afterwards arrive and attempt to supplant our flag on shore, the Marines of the squadron manning the guns of the fort without weakening our ships, would insure us the victory, and the responsibility would rest on the English commander."

At 3.45 P.M., Commodore Jones despatched Commander James Armstrong ashore, accompanied by his Secretary, to summon the Governor to surrender Monterey. This Governor was John B. Alvarado, who in 1840 had committed the outrage already described. He "unhesitatingly consented to surrender," and the Mexican Commissioners were an board the United States at 7.30 A.M., the next day, October 20th, and signed the articles of capitulation. At 11.30 A.M., the Marines and Bluejackets of the squadron were disembarked and took possession of the Castle of Monterey. The Mexican flag was hauled down and the American flag hoisted at 11.55 A.M., being greeted with three cheers by those on the shore and the squadron Commodore Jones reported to the Secretary of the Navy that "the party that landed was composed of seamen and Marines from both ships, amounting to 150 rank and file. The Marines were under the immediate command of Lieutenant G. W. Robbins, assisted by Mr. H. H. Lockwood, Professor of Mathematics on board, who acted as Adjutant." The entire force was under the command of Commander C. K. Stribling.

The United States fired a salute of thirteen guns, the fortress having surrendered without firing a gun. That a long stay on shore was anticipated, was shown by the Marines carrying all their clothing and bedding with them. The next day at 12.10 P.M., "The Castle at Monterey" was saluted with thirteen guns. At 12.15 P.M., the Castle returned the salute with twenty-six guns.

Then came the disconcerting information to Commodore Jones on the 22nd that he had committed acts of war against a State with which his country was at peace; for the log of the Cyane of October

22nd shows that at 3.30 P.M., "all hands" were called and a communication from Commodore Jones read to them. The Commodore "having received information that there was no war between Mexico and the United States, the town and fort of Monterey was to be restored immediately to Mexican authorities." The log of the United States for the same date records that "the American flag flying over the Fort at Monterey was hauled down at 3.45 P.M., and the Mexican hoisted. The squadron saluted it with thirteen guns which was returned by an equal number from the Fort. \* \* \* At 5.00 P.M., the Mexican Fort hauled down the Mexican flag and hoisted a new one and fired seventeen guns. Lieutenant Dulaney with the first division of stormers and First Lieutenant George W. Robbins with the Marines" returned on board the United States. The Marines of the Cyane under Orderly Sergeant John Robinson, returned on board their ship at 5.30 P.M. . Commodore Jones then sailed away.

Several months later Commodore Jones, after shifting his flag aboard the Cyane, visited "Monterey, San Francisco, Santa Barbara, San Pedro, and the village of Los Angeles, which last-mentioned place" was "the Headquarters of General Micheltorena, the Governor-General of both Californias." Commodore Jones was received and "treated as the Nation's Guest, honored with a public ball, to which he rode in the General's own carriage, drawn by valiant soldiers! Not only the General, but all others in and out of authority were unceasing in their attentions, restricted only by the compass of their means;" and, in fact, it would not be doing justice to the Californians not to say that Commodore Jones and his shipmates were "kindly received everywhere." Even in Mazatlan, "where the Mexicans were not accustomed to pay much respect to our flag," they were "received and treated with marked respect." An officer of the Pacific Squadron writing from Mazatlan on February 8, 1843, stated that: "I may say, with truth, that our Navy and our Nation have attained a character and standing with the proud and haughty Mexicans which it never before had." Such was the effect of the firm attitude assumed by Commodore Jones.

This somewhat precipitate movement on the part of Commodore Jones at Monterey caused a change in the command. He was recalled, and Commodore Sloat sent out as his successor. No censure, however, was ever passed upon the former, for his very decided movement, and it is to be supposed that the vigilance of the officer was acceptable

to the government at home rather than otherwise.

# THE OCCUPATION OF SAN DIEGO IN 1842

About the same time that Commodore Jones was operating at Monterey, the crew of the American merchantman Alert, of Boston, under Captain Phelps occupied the town of San Diego. In the month of October, 1842, the Alert was anchored in the harbor of San Diego, when Captain Phelps received information that his country was at war with Mexico, of the capture of Monterey by Commodore Jones, and that Mexican soldiers were on their way to capture his vessel. This news was confirmed on October 28th by a party of American hunters who went on board the Alert with all their property seeking protection from the anticipated movements of the hostile troops. Captain Phelps immediately took possession of the fort ashore, spiked the guns, and then got his stores on board and everything ready for slipping his cables if necessary. The Alert had four six-pounders on board, which were brought to bear on the shore; and, as the vessel lay within pistol shot of the land, her guns fully commanded the beach. On the 1st of November, the official intelligence of the evacuation of Monterey was received, and, as a matter of course, Captain Phelps ceased warlike operations, and commenced putting his ship in order for taking on cargo. The Alert arrived in Boston in April, 1843.

#### THE CALIFORNIANS DRIVE OUT MEXICANS

In 1843, Santa Anna sent up an army that so harassed the Californians that they again were forced to take up arms.

In November, 1844, Alvarado and Castro led a revolt against the Mexican troops which by February, 1845, drove them out of California. Mexico again recognized this California Government, with Pio Pico as Governor and Jose Castro as Commandante General. However, while Mexico substantially abdicated control of California, the "bare thread of legal proprietorship" was retained, since she expected to dispose of it to Great Britain. British influence was very strong in California. Vallejo was pro-American. Governor Pico "was chief of the British Party, and wanted no Americans in the country." Castro was "amiable to Americans, cordial toward France and posed at Mexico as an ardent patriot," and urged the need of preparing for war with the United States.

Consul Larkin had the respect of all the Californians but was extremely active in the interests of his country. He realized the possibility of a European power appropriating the West Coast. Certainly

President Polk, Secretary of State Buchanan and Secretary of the Navy George Bancroft, as well as Senator Benton, Chairman of the Senate Military Affairs Committee, feared this probability and were prepared to frustrate it. On October 24, 1845, President Polk wrote in his diary that Great Britain "had her eye" on California and "intended to possess it if she could." In those days communication between Washington and California was a question of months. There were no "Pony Express," railroads, telegraph, telephone, fast steamboats, Panama Canal or radio. President Polk through orders to Commodore Sloat, and his secret instructions to Larkin, Fremont, and Sloat, carried by Lieutenant Gillespie, did everything in his power to insure that the United States would forestall European efforts to acquire California. He believed in the Monroe Doctrine.

# FREMONT, THE "PATHFINDER"

Captain John C. Fremont, an Army engineer, was a leading figure in this drama. During Tyler's administration he had made two expeditions into the western country, and in the summer of 1845 had undertaken the third. He reached California early in 1846, and, after making brief stops at Sutter's Fort (Sacramento), and Yerba Buena (San Francisco), he went to Monterey to visit Thomas O. Larkin, the American Consul, and to pay his respects to General Castro and Governor Pico.

Difficulties arose between Fremont and the native authorities. It is not necessary to describe them or their cause. Sufficient to know that they existed. Jose Castro, the Commandante General, ordered Fremont to retire from California. Fremont at first refused, established himself on Gavilan (Hawks) Peak, where he erected a log fort and hoisted the American flag. Reconsidering his determination to stand and fight, Fremont retired northward. He arrived at Sutter's Fort late in March, 1846. From there he proceeded to Lessen's Rancho on Deer Creek, in the vicinity of which he remained until April 14th, when he and his party went north. At this time the mission of Captain Fremont was of a topographical nature. He had about fifty men in his party, including Kit Carson and some Delaware Indians. His attention had always been occupied with subjects of science and therefore he was not any too familiar with military matters. This fact is important when considering affairs from now on. Lieutenant Gillespie was Fremont's chief military adviser and aide

from the time he joined him in May, 1846, and Captain Fremont was sincerely open in his praise and thanks to Gillespie for his assistance.

#### THE NAVY MAINTAINED FRIENDLY RELATIONS WITH CALIFORNIANS

The Portsmouth, under command of Commander John B. Montgomery, was early on the ground. Her Marines were commanded by Second Lieutenant Henry B. Watson. The Portsmouth arrived at Monterey on April 22nd. On the next day Consul Larkin informed Commander Montgomery that "the feeling is rife that California is soon to be governed by England or the United States." On this same date the Constitution, the Marines of which were commanded by Second Lieutenant Joseph W. Curtis, sailed for home from Mazatlan, Mexico.

Very happy relations existed between the Californians and the Navy. Castro was suspicious that Commander Montgomery was in collusion with Captain Fremont, who had been ordered out of California by Castro. Mr. Larkin told Commander Montgomery of this suspicion on April 29, 1846. The day before, Lieutenant Watson of the Marines, and other officers of his ship, visited the quicksilver mines near Santa Clara, without passports from the California Government, but Castro accepted the explanations of Commander Montgomery as satisfactory. On May 9th, Commander Montgomery and his officers were present at a picnic given by Castro, and on the 15th Castro was a guest at a large ball given on shore by the officers of the *Portsmouth*.

One of the main sources of trouble at this time, however, was not the foreigners, but a civil war that had begun between Governor Pico and Commandante General Castro.

### THE MISSION OF LIEUTENANT GILLESPIE

Now let us return to Washington where we left First Lieutenant Archibald H. Gillespie in secret conference with President Polk.

He had arrived at Hampton Roads in the Brandywine on September 17, 1846, after a cruise that had carried him to Rio Janeiro, India, Ceylon, China, Manila, Sandwich Islands, Society Islands, Chile, around Cape Horn, to Rio for a second visit, and from thence to the Virginia Capes, where he arrived after a passage of thirty-eight days. The cruise had been filled with adventure and memorable events—particularly that part of it spent in China waters. Upon his arrival

in home waters Lieutenant Gillespie found the atmosphere highly charged with the pre-war spirit of approaching hostilities with the Mexicans. Much to his delight he no sooner arrived in Washington than he was offered-and enthusiastically accepted-the opportunity of performing an important, as well as extremely hazardous duty. On October 18, 1846, Lieutenant Colonel Commandant Archibald Henderson handed Lieutenant Gillespie these written orders: "You will report yourself to the Honorable Secretary of the Navy for such duty as he may assign you." These are the only written instructions to Lieutenant Gillespie known to have been given him. In obedience to these orders Lieutenant Gillespie reported to Secretary of the Navy George Bancroft, from whom he received the orders concerning a secret mission to California, already referred to. From Secretary of State James Buchanan he received orally, secret information to be passed on to the American Consul, Mr. Larkin at Monterey, to the Senior Naval Officer and to Captain John F. Fremont, who were all then in or near California. Mr. Buchanan also handed him a letter of introduction to Captain Fremont, and a long letter addressed to Mr. Larkin to which President Polk referred in his diary. This letter dated October 17, 1845, of Mr. Buchanan to Larkin appointed Larkin a "confidential agent" in California of the President, stated that Lieutenant Gillespie "is a gentleman in whom the President reposes entire confidence," and that he would coöperate with Larkin as a "confidential agent." Senator Benton, the father-in-law of Captain Fremont, intrusted to Lieutenant Gillespie, a packet of personal letters to Captain Fremont, requesting that they be delivered. Then came the confidential interview concerning the "secret mission" of Lieutenant Gillespie with President Polk, in whose good company he was left in the initial paragraph.

# THE MAIN IDEA WAS TO ACQUIRE CALIFORNIA

The events occurring on the Pacific coast in 1846 and 1847, not only made California a part of the United States but was the cause of controversies, bickerings, contradictions, charges and countercharges, courts-martial, and other disagreeable affairs among the chief actors and their adherents. To Americans, however, the fact that California, and the remainder of the Pacific Coast, was saved to the United States is of more vital importance than just how it happened or just who was responsible for such a glorious accomplish-

ment. The successful result is what counted and not to whom should be assigned the glory. Sloat, Kearny, Stockton, Fremont, Gillespie, Larkin, Zeilin, Kit Carson, Montgomery, Vallejo, Missroon, Maddox and many others, including those other numerous early native sons, all did their part—there is glory enough for all. And yet with all this, one cannot avoid the thought that if First Lieutenant Archibald H. Gillespie, of the Marines, had not possessed the courage, the efficiency, and the tenacity of purpose that his actions indicated, it is questionable whether or not our western boundary would be as far west as it is today and California one of the forty-eight States of the Union.

#### GILLESPIE SAILS FOR VERA CRUZ

Lieutenant Gillespie sailed for Vera Cruz, Mexico, in November, 1845. During the voyage he committed to memory the letter to Larkin and destroyed it. He retained the packet of personal letters confided to his care by Senator Benton for Captain Fremont, and also the letter of introduction to Fremont from Secretary Buchanan. Historians have stated that these were the actions of Lieutenant Gillespie, but they disagree nevertheless on many details. One writer states that Gillespie rolled the official papers "in a bunch of cigarettes while he crossed Mexico." However, it would appear that the necessities of the case and his high intelligence would lead Lieutenant Gillespie to destroy the official papers after he had absorbed their contents sufficiently to repeat them; moreover it is probable that these were his orders.

From Vera Cruz he made his way, accompanied by Mr. W. S. Parrott, Secretary of the American Legation in Mexico, disguised as a merchant, to Mexico City. A revolution kept Lieutenant Gillespie a month in the Capital, but he finally reached Mazatalan on the west coast in February, 1846, having passed through Mexico at a time of very great excitement just previous to the breaking out of hostilities. He found American warships under Commodore Sloat at Mazatlan.

While historians do not agree as to how much information Lieutenant Gillespie gave Commodore Sloat, there is ample evidence to conclude that he divulged, at least, the main outline of his mission to him. Some day an "Elbert Hubbard" will write another "Message to Garcia" but "Rowan" will be "Gillespie," and the message carried will be the one that saved California to the American Union.

#### GILLESPIE ARRIVES ON WEST COAST

At Mazatlan, Gillespie boarded the Cyane, and was taken care of by First Lieutenant W. A. T. Maddox, who commanded the Marines of that vessel. The Cyane sailed and arrived at Monterey on April 17. 1846, three days after Fremont had started northward from Lassen's Rancho, at Monterey, he met Mr. Larkin and repeated to him from memory Buchanan's instructions of precisely six months before. Larkin immediately acted to carry out these orders and transmitted, in confidence, the main points of these instructions to his friends at other towns. A careful reading of all the possible instructions received by Larkin-including information received from Gillespie that had never been put in writing—it would appear that the President's plan was to resist the transfer of California to Great Britain, France or any other European power, and that if California desired to become United States territory she would be welcomed with open arms. This was expressed in Secretary of State Buchanan's letter to Larkin, which letter the President stated in his diary contained an outline of Gillespie's mission. Everything else was collateral to the main idea, that the United States would "vigorously interpose" to prevent California from becoming a British or French Colony. As events turned out the native Californians became hostile to the United States and battles were fought. Even if this could have been avoided, it is immaterial, as it did not interfere with the accomplishment of the President's main design.

#### GILLESPIE MEETS FREMONT

Gillespie withheld nothing from Larkin. He had read Buchanan's letter of October 17, 1845, addressed to Larkin in which he had been appointed a confidential agent of the President to work with Larkin, and he passed every shred of data on to that officer. After delivering to Larkin all the information he had brought from Washington, Gillespie brought up the question of how to reach Fremont. This was an important part of his mission—indeed it was his real mission. Both Larkin and Vallejo assisted Gillespie in his plans to reach Fremont, who by this time was away up in Northern California and still working northward. Gillespie left Monterey immediately in pursuit but found that a stern chase is a long one.

At Sutter's Fort on the Sacramento, Gillespie learned more of

Fremont's whereabouts. He made up a party at Neal's Rancho, assisted by Neal, and led by that faithful American, took to Fremont's trail. After a difficult hike of about six hundred miles, beset on all sides by vindictive Indians and with horses weary from the hard and fast going, Gillespie at last overtook Fremont at the Oregon boundary early in May, 1846—the date on which Resaca de la Palma was fought. The day prior to his meeting Fremont, Gillespie had sent Neal and Sigler ahead to inform Fremont that he was following.

Gillespie never did write much about his achievements, but of this event we have his statement that he "proceeded immediately in search of Captain Fremont, and met him in the mountains of Oregon, May 9, 1846, having passed through a hostile Indian country with only five men, suffering much hardship and privations, want of food," etc. Then again he wrote that "but for this perilous journey into the mountains of Oregon, in pursuit of Captain Fremont" and the faithful performance of the duty intrusted to him by the Government, the early movements, "which frustrated British intrigue in California, could not have been made."

The problem which confronts every historian who writes of these events is: What was it that Gillespie communicated to Fremont at Lake Tlamath on the night of May 9, 1846? The only answer ever given was that made by Fremont. According to Fremont, Gillespie informed him "that he had left Washington under orders from the President and the Secretary of the Navy," and had been "directed to reach California by the shortest route through Mexico to Mazatlan." That he was the "bearer of despatches to the U. S. Consul at Monterey" and that he had been directed to find him [Fremont] wherever he might be, "and that Gillespie had in fact travelled about 600 miles from Monterey and through great dangers." Fremont testified that Gillespie "had crossed the continent through the heart of Mexico, from Vera Cruz to Mazatlan, and the danger of his letter falling into the hands of the Mexican Government had induced the precautions to conceal their meaning. The arrival of this officer, his letter of introduction, some things which he told me, and the letter from Senator Benton, had a decided influence on my next movement."

Gillespie gave Fremont the personal letters from Senator Benton and the letter of introduction from the Secretary of State Buchanan which accredited him to Captain Fremont as coming officially from the Secretary of State. Gillespie informed Fremont of the contents of Larkin's letter.

Through Gillespie, Fremont became acquainted with the actual state of affairs and the purposes of the United States Government. Fremont realized that he was relieved from his duty as an explorer and was left to his duty as an officer of the American Army, with authoritative knowledge that his Government intended to acquire California. Gillespie had been sent to warn Fremont "of the new state of affairs and the designs of the President." Fremont later wrote that Gillespie informed him that "to obtain possession of California was the chief object of the President," and that he was to "counteract" all "foreign schemes in relation to California." Fremont wrote that, in substance, the effect of the information brought by Lieutenant Gillespie to him was: "The time has come. England must not get a foothold. We must be first. Act; discreetly but positively."

From Lieutenant Gillespie, Captain Fremont first learned that his country was probably at war with Mexico. The Mexican War did not break out from a clear, peaceful sky. The currents were surging toward this result for a very long period, and only a dull person would have been unable to forsee that war was inevitable. Neither Fremont nor Gillespie were dull. "Mr. Gillespie was directed to act in concert with me," wrote Fremont and "I learned with certainty from him that the President's plan of war included the taking possession of California, and under his confidential instructions I had my warrant." None of these instructions were incompatible with the instructions to Sloat and Larkin. Having thus construed the instructions brought to him by Gillespie from the President, Fremont immediately started southward.

At this time Fremont's party consisted of about fourteen picked men, including that wonderful character Kit Carson, and some friendly Delawares. Fremont and Gillespie had to literally fight their way back through hostile Indians. Once they were attacked by surprise at night, by a large band of Tlamath Indians, and three of Fremont's men were killed. Again, near a canyon at the head of a rocky, wooded ravine, at the foothills of the great mountains, the Americans had to beat off a savage attack of the redskins.

They reached Lassen's Rancho, on the Sacramento River, on May 24, 1846, having subsisted nine days on horse flesh.

#### THE NAVY HELPS FREMONT

Fremont, however, had no supplies, and moreover no funds with which to purchase any. His only source was the Navy, and it did not fail him. The Naval personnel knew that Gillespie had brought instructions to Fremont from Washington, and they cordially and enthusiastically supported Fremont. On May 28th, Fremont sent Gillespie to Commander Montgomery of the Portsmouth, lying at Yerba Buena, with a requisition for supplies, and on the following day left Cordua's Rancho for Sutter's Fort, going down the Sacramento by canoe. Commander Montgomery reported that Lieutenant Gillespie arrived on board the Portsmouth on June 3rd "from the camp of Captain John C. Fremont at junction of Feather River and the Sacramento." The assistance accorded by Commander Montgomery is illustrated by his reporting to Commodore Sloat on July 9th that he had "supplied funds and stores to the extent of \$2,199.00 to Fremont." This cooperation enabled Fremont to organize a force, not only to carry out what he considered his instructions, but to protect American Interests in a territory of Mexico with which by this time he was certain his country was at war.

#### SOME FIGHTING IN CALIFORNIA WAS INEVITABLE

Efforts to untangle the snarl into which Californian affairs had become mixed by this time would be futile. Differences between the Californian leaders amounting to civil war; their distrust of the American and other foreign settlers; British and French propaganda; remnants of patriotism of the Californians for Mexico—a mother country which they had discarded; all brought about a condition which makes it somewhat difficult if not impossible to determine responsibility for not keeping the Californians friendly and thus bringing that territory peacefully into the Union rather than by force of arms as actually occurred. Nine-tenths of all that has been written on this subject has been upon this phase of the events rather than upon the major mission given our leaders in California—the acquisition of California. As a matter of fact it is an almost certainty that some groups of Californians would have opposed the American forces, no matter how delicately the affair was handled.

## THE "BEAR FLAG"

Trouble between the native Californians and the foreigners residing in California seemed imminent early in June, 1846. Castro and Pico were at the head of the natives. Without attempting to

describe the causes which brought about conditions, the fact is that the Americans and other foreigners felt that their lives and property were in danger from the Californians and Indians. They banded themselves together for self-protection. The first clash occurred on June 11th. A few days later the fort at Sonoma was captured from the Californians, the "Bear Flag" hoisted, and the California Republic informally proclaimed. General Mariano Guadalupe Vallejo and others were captured and sent to Captain Fremont as prisoners. The Californians did not relish Fremont's presence. They viewed the Bear Flag as an outrage; were suspicious of all foreigners, were intensely exasperated and the resentment was bitter. They therefore took up arms against Americans. Fremont and Gillespie with about ninety men arrived at Sonoma on June 25th and relieved that post, which was besieged by Castro. On June 20th-30th Fremont and Gillespie, Kit Carson and twenty men, including the Delawares, spiked the guns at the Fort on the south side of the entrance to San Francisco Bay. By July 1, 1846, the Bear Flag was at its zenith. On July 4, 1846, the new republic took more formal form. It was Lieutenant Gillespie, of the Marines, who acted as arbiter for the Committee appointed to draw up the declaration, the members of which could not agree upon the report. Lieutenant Gillespie chose one of the several submitted to him and all signed it. Commander Montgomery was cognizant of all that was going on and some of his officers were present. Fremont was present. He neither averred nor denied that he was acting under orders of the United States. The Cyane arrived at Monterey from Mazatlan on June 20th bringing news of the war to California, but this news did not reach San Francisco until a later date.

While the policy of the United States was "to conciliate and win the people" of California and "not to outrage and affright" this was the minor chord of the policy, the major one being to acquire California. Fremont and Gillespie were "to counteract foreign designs," and that they did is unquestionable. Thus they successfully accomplished their part of the main mission of the American forces in California during the Mexican War.

In the meantime, on July 5, 1846, Fremont and Gillespie had organized an efficient detachment of volunteers known as the "California Battalion," of which Fremont was commanding officer and Gillespie "Adjutant, Quartermaster and Commissary." The military

part of the organization of this Corps devolved on Gillespie, for Fremont was more of a scientist than soldier.

### MARINES LAND AT SAN FRANCISCO

Marines under Second Lieutenant Henry B. Watson, and Bluejackets, landed at Yerba Buena (San Francisco) to protect the residents on July 4, 1846, and returned on board the *Portsmouth* on July 6th.

#### COM MODORE SLOAT

We must now leave Fremont and Gillespie and trace the movements of Commodore Sloat, who was commanding the American Fleet in the Pacific. His flagship was the *Savannah*. Her Marines were officered by Captain Ward Marston and Lieutenant Queen.

Sloat's "Secret and Confidential" Orders, dated June 24, 1845, signed by Secretary of the Navy Bancroft, were delivered to Commodore Sloat by Lieutenant Watson at Honolulu, on October 2, 1845. On October 12, 1845, the Savannah got under way; "Lieutenant Watson took passage in the ship and Commodore Sloat sailed for Mazatlan, Mexico, where he arrived after the very long passage of thirty-seven days, on November 18, 1845."

These orders of June 24, 1845, directed that if Commodore Sloat should learn of war with Mexico he should occupy California ports, and incidentally urged that Commodore Sloat "preserve, if possible, the most friendly relations with the inhabitants." Commodore Sloat learned more of the President's intentions from Lieutenant Gillespie on February 20-22, 1846. On May 17, 1846, he received information of Thornton's defeat from the U. S. Consul at Mazatlan then at Guadalajara; on May 31, 1846, he learned of Palo Alto and the Resaca; and on June 5, 1846, all this information was confirmed. On June 7, 1846, Surgeon Wood-in Mexico City on his way home-sent him word that the Mexican troops, six or seven thousand strong, had, by order of the Mexican Government, invaded the territory of the United States north of the Rio Grande, had attacked the forces under General Taylor, and that the squadron of the United States was blockading the coast of Mexico on the Gulf. "These hostilities" were considered by Commodore Sloat as sufficient to justify him in "commencing offensive operations on the West Coast." He therefore sailed on June 8, 1846, in the Savannah, for the coast of California, to carry out the orders of the Navy Department of June 24, 1845. He left the Warren

at Mazatlan to bring him any despatches or important information that might reach there. Sloat arrived at Monterey on July 2, 1846, where he found the *Cyane* and the *Levant*, and learned that the *Portsmouth* was at San Francisco.

#### MARINES PERFORMED EXPEDITIONARY DUTY

During the Mexican War there was a total of 402 Marines, who saw service on the Pacific Coast. They were born in the following states and countries: New York, 117; Pennsylvania, 77; Massachusetts, 26; Maryland, 23; New Jersey, 19; Maine, 16; Virginia, 13; District of Columbia, 13; New Hampshire, 12; Connecticut, 9; Rhode Island, 7; Vermont, 6; Ohio, 6; South Carolina, 3; Delaware, 2; Michigan, 2; Louisiana, 2; Kentucky, 1; Tennessee, 1; Mississippi, 1; Ireland, 21; England, 10; Germany, 7; Holland, 4; and Sweden, Russia, Nova Scotia, and Minorca, each 1.

While all these officers and men did not serve together at any one time there were several operations—for instance at Los Angeles, San Diego, San Pedro, Monterey—in which a great portion of them combined with other personnel to operate ashore. The operations they participated in were land operations and not on board ship. The vessels really served as floating bases from which the Marines and

Bluejackets operated and were supplied.

In this connection it is interesting to remember that the Royal Marines of Great Britain were first established in 1664, to act as an expeditionary force of *Sea Soldiers* in the fleet. The "Duke of York and Albany's Maritime Regiment of Foot" or the "Admiral's Regiment" as this organization of British Marines was frequently denominated, consisted of 1200 "Land Souldjers" divided into six companies of two hundred men each. Although described as "Land Souldjers" in the Order in Council, they were raised for service afloat, for in the preamble of the Order it is stated that it was issued upon a report received from the Lords of the Admiralty.

The experiment of using Army troops aboard the vessels of the British Navy had been made during the latter part of the reign of King James I, up to 1664, but proved unsuccessful. During that period service afloat was so unpopular that when it was known that the recruits might be sent aboard ship, none appeared. To meet this condition the "Admiral's Regiment" of Marines was authorized.

Thus the true object of the Marine force at its inception was not that of maintaining discipline and order among the "turbulent and refractory seamen of the period," but of serving with the Navy as a military body adapted to naval conditions. The need for an "expeditionary force" of soldiers trained to the ways of the sea was as necessary then as now. Not only for what are termed "landing parties" was it desirable to have the Marines in the fleet but for the purpose of having a military force available to take advantage of the "surprise" in actions against strongpoints ashore, after the naval force had done its part. It was recognized by the "Fathers" of the early British Navy that such a force was not only necessary but that it could be maintained at an efficient standard only by being part of the naval service and serving on board the naval vessels. Nobly have the British Marines performed this duty.

Major General John A. Lejeune, the present Commandant of the American Marines, is not only intensely interested in the history of his own Corps, but possesses a thorough knowledge of history, both military and otherwise. Historical reading and study is one of his pet hobbies, and it was he who first pointed out to the writer the causes that brought about the authorizing and raising of the earliest British Marines.

And so we find the vessels of the Pacific Squadron doing this same old-fashioned duty in 1846 and 1847, transporting Marines and Bluejackets to the Pacific Coast to land on the enemy's shores. The presence of a fast-sailing ship, carrying an "expeditionary force" of Marines, would have simplified these operations.

This use of the Naval vessels and Marines in the Mexican War, however, was not novel to the American naval service. The first appearance of United States Marines in history was in the nature of expeditionary service, as part of a relief expedition to Fort Ticonderoga in May, 1775. The landing of a battalion of Marines and Bluejackets at New Providence, Bahama Islands, early in 1776; the Penobscot Expedition in 1779; and the smaller expedition down the Mississippi in the Rattletrap under Captain Willing at an earlier date, were other illustrations of expeditionary duty in the Revolution. In 1812, Captain John Williams coöperated with the Army in an expedition to East Florida, he himself being killed by the Indians. In 1836, Colonel Commandant Archibald Henderson took the whole Marine Corps down to Florida, where it fought the Indians. Then came the Mexican War of 1846 and the occupation of California by an expedition of Marines and Bluejackets organized in that country.

# MONTEREY OCCUPIED AND AMERICAN FLAG HOISTED NEVER TO COME DOWN

On July 5, 1846, the *Portsmouth* launch arrived at Monterey from San Francisco with information of Torre's defeat near San Rafael the spiking of the guns at San Francisco, the capture of Ridley, and that Fremont and Gillespie were acting with the "Bear Flag" insurgents. This was a decisive despatch. On July 7th, Commodore Sloat sent Captain Mervine to the Military Commandant of Monterey with a summons to surrender the town to the United States. The Commandant replied that he was not authorized to surrender, and referred Commodore Sloat to the Commanding General of California, Don Jose Castro.

About 165 Seamen and eighty-five Marines (under Captain Ward Marston and Second Lieutenant W. A. R. Maddox) were immediately embarked in the boats of the Savannah, Cyane and Levant. Marston and Queen were in the Savannah's boats, Maddox in the Cyane's. Those of the Levant included Orderly Sergeant John McCabe with two sergeants, one corporal and twelve privates. The boats landed at 10.00 A.M., under cover of the guns of the ships, with great promptitude and good order, under the immediate command of Captain William Mervine, U. S. Navy. Upon landing the forces were immediately formed and marched to the Custom House, where the proclamation, which had been prepared by Commodore Sloat, assisted by Larkin, "to the inhabitants of California," was read, the standard of the United States hoisted amid three hearty cheers by the troops and foreigners present, and a salute of twenty-one guns fired by all the ships. Immediately afterwards the proclamation, both in English and Spanish, was posted up about the town, and two justices of the peace appointed to preserve order and punish delinquencies; the alcades declining to serve. The Bluejackets returned aboard ship at 11.00 A.M., the same date leaving a detachment of Marines under Lieutenant Maddox to garrison Monterey. The Marines took possession of and occupied the barracks, which had been used by the forces of General Castro, which had fled. Commodore Sloat then despatched a courier to General Castro with a letter and a copy of the proclamation and on the 9th did the same for Senor Don Pio Pico, the Governor, who was at Santa Barbara. The hoisting of our flag at Monterey on July 7, 1846, saved California and the Pacific Coast to the United States, and prevented a disastrous collision between the

United States and Great Britain. Sloat's decision, however, was largely influenced by Fremont's and Gillespie's achievements in the north, news of which was received by Sloat on July 5th. On July 6, 1846, Commodore Sloat had sent a despatch to Commander Montgomery at San Francisco, "by sea," to take immediate possession of San Francisco Bay if Fremont would join him or if he himself had sufficient force to do so. He also wrote that he was anxious to know if Fremont would coöperate with the Naval Forces. The following day Commodore Sloat sent a duplicate of this order overland to Montgomery and directed him to hoist the flag at San Francisco.

#### HORSE MARINES

On July 8, 1846, Commodore Sloat directed the organization of a company of 35 dragoons from Marines, Bluejackets and volunteers ashore "to keep open the communication between Monterey and San Francisco," and to act, as what may be termed, the first Mounted Police of California. Sloat selected Purser Fauntleroy to command this mounted company.

#### FLAG HOISTED AT SAN FRANCISCO

On July 8, 1846, Commander John B. Montgomery, of the Portsmouth, lying at Yerba Buena, "received an express from Commodore Sloat at Monterey with a proclamation, announcing the commencement of war between the United States and Mexico. A battle having been fought on the Rio Grande \* \* \* Sloat had taken possession of Monterey and hoisted the American standard over the Californias as a part of the United States." San Francisco "was called Yerba Buena, for the peppermint, which was plentiful around some springs, located probably a little south of the junction of Pine and Sansome Streets."

Commander Montgomery landed July 9, 1846, at Yerba Buena "with seventy men, including Marines, under Lieutenant Watson, and at 8.00 A.M., hoisted our flag in front of the Custom House in the public square with a salute of twenty-one guns from the ship, followed by three cheers on shore and on board, in which the people, principally foreign residents, seemed cordially to join." Commander Montgomery then read the proclamation of Commodore Sloat and one of his own. The proclamation of Commander Montgomery stated that "a military guard has been stationed in possession of the Custom House under Henry B. Watson, Esq., whom I have appointed the Military Commandant (pro tem) of all the Marines and Militia."

The seamen with a small portion of the Marines were then returned to the ship. "Lieutenant Watson with the residue of his guard were formally established as military occupants of the post." A militia guard of thirty-two volunteers was formed and placed under Lieutenant Watson.

Commander Montgomery gave Lieutenant Watson written orders on July 9th. "You will remain in military possession as the commander of the Marines and local Militia," directed Montgomery addressing Watson as "Military Commandant of the Marines and Militia stationed as Yerba Buena."

On July 11th Watson reported to Commander Montgomery from the "Marine Barracks, Yerba Buena," that all was quiet, and the same on the 12th.

Thus the whole of that very noble and important bay became at once, substantially subject to the American flag. By July 11th, the flag was flying on Sutter's Fort on the Sacramento, at Bodega on the coast, at Sonoma, and at Yerba Buena, or what is commonly called San Francisco.

On July 9, 1846, Lieutenant J. S. Missroon, U.S.N., and a detachment of mounted Marines of the *Portsmouth* proceeded to the fort at the entrance of the harbor of San Francisco, about seven miles from Yerba Buena, and hoisted the flag. They found three brass guns; old Spanish pieces made in 1623, 1628, and 1693; three long iron 42's and four smaller iron guns. These were the guns that had been spiked by Gillespie and Fremont. They called at the Presidio on the way, but found no guns.

#### AN EARLY ADVANCED BASE

On July 10, 1846, the *Portsmouth's* Marines were on shore doing guard duty and the Marines and sailors, under Lieutenant Missroon, were cutting away a portion of Telegraph Hill to obtain room to plant a battery there to help defend the ships.

#### AT THE MISSION OF DOLORES

On July 11, 1846, Lieutenant J. S. Missroon proceeded "with a small party of Marines mounted as cavalry to the Mission of Dolores (six miles from Yerba Buena) in search of arms, ammunition, etc., and public documents of the district." Only an old lance was found, documents collected and brought back and "placed in the Custom House under charge of Military Commandant Watson."

The British warship Juno anchored at San Francisco on July 11, 1846. Watson's Marines were withdrawn from the shore to assist in defending the Portsmouth in case the Juno showed a disposition to fight. The Flag ashore was guarded by civilians. The Marines returned on shore shortly afterwards. On July 17th, Montgomery reported to Commodore Sloat that the entrance to San Francisco Bay could be "fortified in a manner to repel the whole Navy of Great Britain," as war with that country, "now more than ever likely to occur," and recommended that heavy guns should be placed there.

# THE "FIRST SHOT"

The Marines of Lieutenant Queen fired the first shot that was fired after the raising of the American flag, when he had a skirmish with the forces of Don Emanuel Castro "Chinate" a notorious Californian, on July 12, 1846.

# SLOAT PRAISES THE MARINES

On July 15, 1846, Sloat issued a General Order in which he announced to the "officers, seamen and Marines, under his command," that the flag was flying at Yerba Buena, Sutter's Fort on the Sacramento, Saucelito, Sonoma, and Bodega, and that the forces of the United States have quiet possession of the magnificent Bay of San Francisco and all the country within one hundred miles around."

## AT THE MISSION OF SAN JUAN

On July 17, 1846, Fauntleroy's Dragoons, composed of Marines, Sailors and volunteers, were ordered to reconnoiter the country as far as the Mission of San Juan (St. John's); to take possession of that place; hoist the American flag and recover ten brass cannon said to have been buried there by General Castro before he retreated. On their arrival at San Juan, however, they found that Fremont and Gillespie had anticipated them shortly before and occupied the town. The Dragoons and Fremont's force then went on to Monterey, arriving there on the 19th.

On a later date Commodore Sloat sent Fauntleroy back to St. John's "to garrison the place, dig up, mount the guns, and recover a large quantity of powder and shot, said to have been secreted there." Later, as will be seen, Lieutenant Queen with his Marines relieved Fauntleroy in command of the garrison at this post.

#### CALIFORNIA LEADERS THROW IN LOT WITH MEXICO

Both Commodore Sloat and Consul Larkin endeavored to conciliate Castro, but he would not be reconciled to the conditions. He retorted by demanding an explanation of the Sonoma affair. Doubtless that episode had thoroughly angered him, and he felt besides that a man in his official position would not be forgiven by the people, should he condone it. Alvarado and Pico, both of whom were cordially addressed, held entirely aloof; and before long the Governor Pico and Commandante General Castro, forced into a reconciliation by Fremont's operations, united their commands. But as the people of Northern California generally, thankful to escape from the clutches of the Bear and pleased with Sloat's proclamation, appeared willing to accept the change of flags, these two leaders withdrew to the vicinity of Los Angeles, where with about 800 men and ten cannon they supported—or pretended to support—the cause of Mexico. The situation was further clarified by Admiral Sir George F. Seymour, commanding the British, who arrived at Monterey on July 16, 1846, on the Collingwood, and a week later admitting that he could not interfere, sailed away for the Sandwich Islands.

Commodore Sloat reported to the Secretary of the Navy that "the visit of the Admiral was very serviceable to our cause in California, as the inhabitants fully believed he would take part with them, and that we would be obliged to abandon our conquest; but when they saw the friendly intercourse subsisting between us, and found that he could not interfere in their behalf, they abandoned all hope of ever seeing the Mexican flag fly in California again."

# FREMONT AND GILLESPIE VISIT SLOAT

On July 7, 1846, Sloat wrote to Commander Montgomery that he wished "very much to see and hear from Captain Fremont," in order that they might understand each other and coöperate together."

Fremont and Gillespie arrived at Monterey on July 19, 1846, with 160 mounted riflemen and one piece of artillery. They immediately repaired on board the Savannah (Marston and Queen) and waited on Commodore Sloat, who appeared glad to see them. This was the only interview Sloat and Fremont had, and nothing came of it. The appearance of Fremont's force made a striking impression on the British.

### STOCKTON RELIEVES SLOAT

Commodore Robert F. Stockton was given command of the frigate Congress (on which vessel the Marines were commanded by Captain Jacob Zeilin), which had been equipped at Norfolk for duty in the Pacific. His sealed orders, which were not to be opened until he had passed beyond "the Capes of Virginia," directed him to proceed to the Sandwich Islands, and eventually, to join the squadron of Commodore Sloat. To Stockton was intrusted the originals of the instructions to Sloat and Larkin, duplicates of which, as we have seen, were sent overland in care of Lieutenant Gillespie.

Commodore Stockton arrived at Monterey in command of the Congress on July 15, 1846, from Valparaiso via Sandwich Islands. He reported for duty to Commodore Sloat who was on board the Savannah.

Sloat reported to the Secretary of the Navy that on July 23, 1846, his "health being such as to prevent" his "attending to so much and such laborious duties," he "directed Commodore Stockton to assume command of the forces and operations on shore; and on the 29th, having determined to return to the United States, via Panama," he hoisted his "broad pennant on board the Levant and sailed for Mazatlan and Panama, leaving the remainder of the squadron under" the command of Stockton.

# COMMODORE SLOAT AGAIN COMMENDS THE MARINES

In referring to "the officers, seamen, and Marines of the squadron" that he "had the honor to command," during all these operations in California prior to his departure, Commodore Sloat officialy reported, on July 31, 1846, to Secretary of the Navy George Bancroft, "that no men could display more zeal, activity and determined desire to do honor to their country and the service than they."

## FREMONT AND GILLESPIE SERVE UNDER STOCKTON

As before stated, Commodore Stockton relieved Commodore Sloat on July 23, 1846. Stockton had vision enough to see that if he did not act in conjunction with Fremont (who he knew had received secret instructions from the President of the United States, through Gillespie, to act toward the acquisition of California) that country might be lost to his Government, therefore acted with intelligent judgment. He proposed to Fremont that the "California Battalion"

act as a part of the naval forces, and that if Fremont consented he would commission Fremont a "Major" and Gillespie a "Captain." This would raise each of these two officers one grade in rank. Fremont met this coöperating spirit of his senior in a different branch of the service, with equal spirit, and the California Battalion became in fact a battalion of "Acting Marines," in the Naval Service subject to the orders of Commodore Stockton. Lieutenant Gillespie, by tact and through his influence allayed discontent among the volunteers composing the "California Battalion" and brought about a unanimous decision to serve under Stockton. Fremont was therefore an Acting Marine officer. Commodore Stockton declared himself Governor of California, and this "California Battalion" composed of "Acting Marines" formed in reality the first armed forces—corresponding to the present National Guard—of California. Commodore Stockton then proceeded with energy to pacify that territory.

THE "CALIFORNIA BATTALION" WERE "ACTING MARINES"

In his statement at his courts-martial Fremont says that "we became a part of the naval forces under" Stockton's command. "We (Lieutenant Gillespie and myself) joined Commodore Stockton for the public good, and with some sacrifice of our independent positions. Neither of us could have been commanded by him except upon our own agreement. I belonged to the Army and was at the head of the popular movement in California. \*\*\* Lieutenant Gillespie was of the Marines, and was, besides, on special duty, by orders of the President, and no officer of any rank could interfere with him. We might have continued our independent position, and carried on the war by land. \*\*\* We became part of the Naval forces."

On July 25, 1846, Fremont and Gillespie received their commissions from Stockton. Fremont stated in a letter to Senator Benton, dated July 25, 1846, that "a force of eighty Marines will be attached" to his battalion. This battalion "was received into the service of the United States to aid the Navy," or as expressed by another authority, "taken into the naval service as the California Battalion."

A few days later, on the 29th, Commodore Sloat sailed away in the Levant for Mazatlan and Panama, leaving under Stockton the following ships at the following places: The Portsmouth at San Francisco; the Congress and Savannah at Monterey; the Cyane en route to San

Diego with the "California Battalion"; the Warren at Mazatlan, and the storeship Erie at the Sandwich Islands.

The plan of Stockton was to sail at once for San Pedro and attack Castro at Los Angeles.

## SAN DIEGO OCCUPIED

On July 29, 1846, Lieutenant Rowan of the Navy, "with the Marine Guard and a few Sailors" of the Cyane, landed at San Diego and hoisted the American flag. The Bluejackets immediately withdrew and the "Marines were left to guard the flag," under Second Lieutenant W. A. T. Maddox, of the Marines. The log of the Cyane includes the information under date of the 29th that the "Marine Guard under command of Lieutenant Maddox" was left "on shore to defend the flag and town."

#### SANTA BARBARA OCCUPIED

Commodore Stockton sailed in the Congress about the first of August, 1846, from Monterey (leaving the Savannah there) and occupied Santa Barbara on August 4th, where he left a small force. Lieutenant Zeilin commanded the Marines and was Adjutant of the Naval Battalion in this operation. Commodore Stockton arrived at San Pedro (twenty-eight miles from Los Angeles) on August 6, 1846. Here he learned of the arrival of the Cyane at San Diego and the landing there of Fremont's Battalion.

# LOS ANGELES OCCUPIED

When it became evident to the Californians that Commodore Stockton intended to occupy Los Angeles, Pico and Castro remonstrated and finally prohibited his advance. Stockton refused to consider this protest. His force consisted of the Marines of the Congress under Lieutenant Jacob Zeilin, and Bluejackets and volunteers. An additional force of 120 volunteers under Captain Fremont and Lieutenant Gillespie also joined on the 13th. The records show one Marine wounded on the 10th, Private John Yost, shot in the head. This force moved from San Pedro on August 11, 1846.

Stockton reported that they had "quietly occupied" the famous City of the Angels, the capital of the Californians, on August 13, 1846. The enemy had "buried their guns" and retreated. Additional Marines from the Cyane under Lieutenant Maddox, joined the

forces at Los Angeles on August 16th. Jose Maria Flores and Don Andres Pico (brother of Pico) were captured and paroled.

#### CIVIL GOVERNMENT ORGANIZED

On August 17, 1846, Commodore Stockton issued his proclamation that California belonged to the United States.

Having occupied the capital of the enemy, Commodore Stockton proceeded with the organization of a temporary civil government. He himself, "exercised the powers of Governor of California and Commander-in-Chief of the forces of the United States." He divided California into three military districts—Northern, Middle and Southern. He appointed Major John C. Fremont "Military Commandant of the Territory"; Captain Archibald H. Gillespie, Military "Commandant of the Southern Department," with headquarters at Los Angeles; and later appointed Lieutenant W. A. T. Maddox, Military Commandant of the Middle Department, with Headquarters at Monterey.

At this time, according to Commodore Stockton's report, he had intended to "leave the territory" in order to capture Acapulca and other southern ports. His plan was to appoint Major Fremont Governor of California, and directed that officer to meet him on October 25th, at San Francisco to turn over.

# STOCKTON SAILS FOR THE NORTH

Commodore Stockton received alarming information that Sutter's Settlement was menaced by a large body of Walla Walla Indians. The Savannah was ordered to proceed immediately to San Francisco Bay. Lieutenant Maddox was appointed "Military Commandant of the Middle Department." Lieutenant Queen of the Marines, joined the Savannah from San Juan, just before she sailed. Stockton decided to follow. Leaving Los Angeles on September 2nd, with an absurdly small retaining force under Gillespie, Commodore Stockton sailed from San Pedro on the Congress on September 5th. Despite the earnest recommendations that a stronger force be left under Gillespie at Los Angeles, he had only forty-eight volunteers of his battalion of mounted riflemen to cope with an ugly situation. The inadequacy of this force for the mission assigned was proven by the fact that it was totally unable to cope with the enemy during the subsequent period. Larkin had urged that Gillespie be given a "respectable command." "Gillespie's task was peculiarly important because news and troops

from Mexico would arrives first at Los Angeles, and because that section had the largest percentage of restless people."

Picking up the small garrison he had previously left at Santa Barbara and stopping a short time at Monterey, Commodore Stockton soon arrived in San Francisco Bay and joined the *Savannah*. He found that the reports about the Indians had been greatly exaggerated.

# INCIDENTS AROUND MONTEREY

Events were also transpiring around Monterey. On July 29, 1846, Lieutenant Queen of the Marines at Monterey, was ordered to San Juan, forty miles from Monterey, with the Monterey Marines to aid in its defense. On August 4, 1846, Fauntleroy of the Navy, turned over the command at San Juan to Lieutenant Queen, who, with seventeen Marines, continued in command of that town for a considerable period. Lieutenant Queen's Marines had several contacts with Indians during this time. On September 18, 1846, Private John Fishpon, of the Savannah, died at San Juan.

In August, 1846, Lieutenant Maddox of the Marines, stationed at Los Angeles since August 16th, was ordered on the 18th of that month to proceed "with Captain Ford's company of volunteer riflemen in pursuit of "General Alavado, Manuel Castro Pablo de la Guerra and Colonel La Forre, all notorious Californians. Having performed this duty and travelled the several hundred miles to Monterey, Commodore Stockton then appointed him Captain of a company of mounted volunteers and Commandant of the Central Military District of California, at Monterey. The performance of duty by Captain Maddox in this capacity called for frequent praise from his superior. He remained on shore with the Marines of the Cyane until the arrival of that ship at Monterey. Maddox then went to San Diego on special duty for a day or so and returned to Monterey in the Congress.

### REVOLT IN LOS ANGELES

No sooner had Commodore Stockton sailed than the Californians became active in the vicinity of Los Angeles. Within a few days about 400 Californians were in arms. The surrender of Lieutenant Wilson, U.S.N., with some twenty-five Bluejackets at the Chini Farm to about 110 insurgents encouraged them. Lieutenant Colonel Flores and Don Andres Pico were the leaders. The first attack was made on Gillespie in Los Angeles on September 23, 1846. Gillespie reported that on this date he "was attacked in the Government House by a

force of sixty-five Californians; beat them off with twenty-one men, wounding two of the enemy." Gillespie had only seventy-two men, including "stewards, Indians and camp followers." He "was without supplies of any kind." He "had no artillery when attacked in the Government House." "After much labor" he "succeeded in clearing and mounting upon the axles of ox carts, three old pieces of iron artillery and made shot and grape from the lead of distillery pipes, which" he "found in a vineyard close at hand." His "force, although subsisting most of the time upon a scanty allowance of dried beef, labored in strengthening" the "works with the greatest enthusiasm, determined to stand by "Gillespie "until the last man should fall, rather than submit to the terms proposed by the insolent officers of the enemy."

From September 23rd to the 30th Gillespie was "besieged by a force of 600 Californians, having skirmishes with them day

and night."

"Upon the 30th of September, 1846, after the constant skirmishing and losing but one man," Gillespie obtained honorable terms and marched out of the City with Colors flying, without leaving an article behind him, and as he reported, "having endured more suffering in those seven days, than" his "service of seventeen years could equal."

## MERVINE'S DEFEAT AT SAN PEDRO

Gillespie retired from Los Angeles and boarded the merchant ship Vandalia lying at San Pedro. Captain Mervine shortly after arrived at San Pedro on board the Savannah with orders to do all he could for the small garrison at Los Angeles. Of course he found Gillespie on the Vandalia.

Acting in the spirit of his instructions, Captain Mervine, on October 8th, landed Marines and Bluejackets and with Gillespie's men, but without artillery, attempted to force his way across the plain to Los Angeles. Early on the march he was met by a body of Californians with a single piece of artillery, which they used so effectually to harrass him that he was compelled to abandon his attempt to reach Los Angeles and retreated to the Savannah with a loss of four killed and several wounded. Among the wounded was Private William Conlan. "When the Americans charged, this gun was hurried beyond their reach by mounted men with lariats; but as soon as the Americans halted from exhaustion, it was drawn back and set at work."

#### STOCKTON MOVES TO RELIEVE GILLESPIE

About September 30, 1846, word reached Commodore Stockton, in San Francisco Bay, that Gillespie was besieged in the Government House at Los Angeles by a large force. Stockton at once ordered the Savannah to San Pedro and immediately conceived a plan for Gillespie's relief. Fremont, with his battalion, was at Sacramento and was ordered to proceed to San Francisco and join Stockton. Fremont arrived in San Francisco on October 12th, and embarked on the Sterling. He was directed to proceed to Santa Barbara, from where he would march on Los Angeles. Stockton would go to San Pedro, from where he would march upon the City of the Angels.

The Marine Guard of the Warren at this time was ashore at Monterey under Lieutenant Maddox.

The Congress and Sterling sailed in company, as soon as possible, but separated in a fog. The Congress reached San Pedro about October 23, 1846, having landed reinforcements at Monterey, en route, to assist Captain Maddox. On the way south Stockton had spoke with the merchant ship Barnstable carrying despatches to him from Maddox. Stockton also touched at Santa Barbara. At San Pedro, Stockton found Gillespie on board the Savannah.

Serious efforts were now directed towards recapturing the city of Los Angeles. On October 25, 1846, Stockton landed and hoisted the flag over San Pedro, the Marines being under Lieutenant Zeilin. Stockton and Gillespie sailed for San Diego, which was also in difficulty. Fremont, it seems, failing to get horses at Santa Barbara, had gone on to Monterey but hoped to get south soon, and Stockton sent the Savannah there to assist him. Stockton and Gillespie arrived at San Diego about October 24, 1846. Here the Marines and Bluejackets had several engagements with the enemy, the most important one being on November 24, 1846. At this time San Diego was a "small group of adobe houses about four miles northeast of the present city."

### SAN PEDRO RECAPTURED

The Californians had occupied San Pedro after the retreat of Mervine. Stockton had expected to find Fremont at Santa Barbara, and had gone on hoping to find him at San Pedro. On October 24th the Marines and Bluejackets of the Savannah and Congress landed at San Pedro. As the Americans approached the shore, the enemy fired a few muskets without harm and fled; the Naval force took pos-

ession and once more hoisted our flag at San Pedro. The Commander-in-Chief commended the "determined courage with which the officers, Sailors, and Marines landed (in spite of the false alarm as to the enemy's force) and again hoisted the American standard at San Pedro."

The roadstead of San Pedro was a dangerous position for men of war being exposed to storms which at this season raged with great violence. Commodore Stockton therefore proceeded to San Pedro.

As had been described, Fremont had sailed on the Sterling from San Francisco with Stockton, but the ships had parted and Stockton had heard nothing of him up to the time he left San Pedro for San Diego. Stockton had sent the Savannah to Monterey to aid Fremont.

On arriving at San Diego Stockton found it besieged. A force was landed and defeated the enemy.

At this time Flores was acting as provisional governor and commandante general of the California forces and martial law had been declared in Los Angeles. Don Andres Pico was associated with Flores.

#### GILLESPIE ALMOST GOES TO SAN BERNARDO

About this time Stockton learned that the principal force of the insurgents was encamped at San Bernardo, thirty miles from San Diego. Thereupon Commodore Stockton ordered Captain Gillespie to proceed there, with as many men as he could mount, and one field piece to surprise them. But receipt of an urgent request for reinforcements from General Kearny made it necessary for Gillespie to give up this plan and go to Kearny's relief.

# REINFORCEMENTS SENT TO KEARNY

About December 5, 1846, while he was organizing his small army of Marines, Bluejackets and Volunteers, Commodore Stockton received an express from Brigadier General Kearny announcing his arrival at Warren's Ranch (Agua Caliente) the frontier settlement of California. Commodore Stockton immediately despatched Gillespie with a small force to join him. Gillespie left San Diego December 3, 1846, with about 40 mounted men. On the day but one following his departure from San Diego, Gillespie met General

Kearny about one o'clock in the afternoon, in the mountains between Santa Maria and Santa Ysabel, and put himself under his orders. Gillespie carried a letter dated December 3, 1846, from Stockton to Kearny. "I have ordered Captain Gillespie, with a detachment of mounted riflemen and a field piece, to your camp without delay. Captain Gillespie is well-informed and will give you all needful information," etc., read the letter dated December 3, 1846, from Stockton to Kearny which Gillespie handed the latter. Small as it was, his party proved a seasonable addition to the force which the General had with him.

## BATTLE OF SAN PASQUAL

Informed by Gillespie of the proximity of a force of Californians, the General decided to attack, and, if possible, to "surprise" them. In the evening of the same day he encamped near San Pasqual.

On December 6, 1846, General Kearny fought and lost to Andres Pico the Battle of San Pasqual. Kearny himself was wounded and had two officers and sixteen men killed and four officers and eleven men wounded. Captain Gillespie, in endeavoring to rally the dragoons, was attacked by seven lancers, front and rear, and finally dismounted. He was wounded in the left breast, cut open to the lungs, and received a deep gash upon the right arm and, when rising from the ground, received a blow in the mouth from a lance which broke a front tooth.

In describing this battle in a speech delivered in the United States Senate, Senator Benton stated that Don Andres Pico "inquired for the killed, and especially for Gillespie, whom he personally knew, and whom he had reported among the dead. Godey told him that he was not dead, but badly lanced, and that his servant in San Diego had made up some supplies for him, which he had brought—sugar, coffee, tea, fresh linen. Pico put the supplies under a flag, and sent them to Gillespie, with an invitation to come to his camp and receive better treatment than he could get on the dry rocks of San Bernardo; which he did, and was treated like a brother, returning when he pleased. The same flag carried a proposition to exchange prisoners." Gillespie was brevetted a Captain for his gallantry in this battle.

General Kearny after this defeat despatched Ensign Beal, Kit Carson and an Indian to Commodore Stockton for reinforcements. A large force of Marines and Bluejackets under Lieutenant Zeilin of the Marines and Lieutenant Gray were immediately despatched These reinforcements joined Kearny on December 11, 1846.

The remainder of the month of December was devoted to the completion of plans for the recapture of Los Angeles. General

Kearny arrived at San Diego on December 12, 1846.

Stockton's small Army, composed principally of Marines and Bluejackets with some volunteers and a few of Kearny's dragoons, set out for Los Angeles, on December 29, 1846. Commodore Stockton was in supreme command with General Kearny acting under his orders in direct command of the troops. Lieutenant Zeilin was Stockton's Adjutant. The battle of San Gabriel was won twelve miles from Los Angeles on January 8, 1847. The 32nd anniversary of the Battle of New Orleans. The Battle of La Mesa was won the following day, Los Angeles occupied on January 10, 1847, and Gillespie's flag replaced on the Custom House. Gillespie was wounded by a carbine ball in the left hip in the Mesa battle.

After capturing Don Jesus Pico and others early in January, Major Fremont and the Californian leaders signed the Treaty of Cahuenga on January 12, 1847. From this date on Los Angeles remained in American hands.

### THE EXPEDITION UNDER MARSTON

While Los Angeles was being re-occupied Marines were busily engaged farther north. On December 29, 1846, an expedition of Marines (under Lieutenant Tansill), volunteers, and Weber's Mounted Company with a small field piece, the whole force under command of Captain Ward Marston of the Marines, set out from San Francisco for the purpose of capturing some leading Californians and releasing a Naval officer and some Bluejackets, held as prisoners by them. Captain Marston experienced many difficulties. The gun-carriage broke and was "repaired with lashings of cowhide." The streams made his Marines "strip to it as it was waist deep." One Marine was "slightly wounded in the head in an engagement on January 2nd. On this date the American force "was in a miry place, the Marines up to their knees, and the gun over the hubs in mud." The "enemy then surrounded us," reported Marston, "but a stand of grape and the fire of the Marines and volunteers soon dispersed them." The Californians laid down their arms on January 7th. The success of the expedition was largely

made possible by the arrival of Lieutenant Maddox at Santa Clara Mission, where the surrender occurred, in eleven days from Monterey, after a circuit of 200 miles and the most difficult in California. For this exploit Captain Marston was brevetted a Major. Lieutenant Tansill and Surgeon Duvall of the Navy were warmly commended for their splendidly performed duty. Lieutenant Maddox returned to Monterey and Marston was back at San Francisco on January 10th.

# THE ACQUISITION COMPLETED

The acquisition of California may be said to have been completed with the "Capitulation" or "Treaty of Cahuenga," which was signed on January 12, 1847.

The many stirring incidents participated in by Marines along the Pacific Coast during the remaining part of the Mexican War will be described at another time.

#### GILLESPIE RETURNS TO WASHINGTON

About the middle of January, 1847, Commodore Stockton appointed Major Fremont, Governor, and Lieutenant Gillespie, Major of the California Battalion. Gillespie's commission was dated January 18th, and was received by him two days later. It was also the intention of Commodore Stockton to appoint Gillespie the Secretary of the Territory. Trouble then arose between Kearny and Fremont. These troubles necessarily delayed Gillespie, who on March 11th, by order of Kearny, was relieved from duty with the California Battalion. This left Gillespie with no active military duties and he received orders to return to Washington. In company with Commodore Stockton, Gillespie left the West Coast on May 25, 1847, and travelling overland arrived in Washington, November 15, 1847.

# STATEMENT OF THE OWNERSHIP, MANAGEMENT, CIRCULA-TION, ETC., REQUIRED BY THE ACT OF CONGRESS OF AUGUST 24, 1912

Of THE MARINE CORPS GAZETTE, published quarterly at Philadelphia, Pa., for October 1, 1922

Washington, D. C. ss.

Before me, an Adjutant and Inspector in the U. S. Marine Corps (authorized to administer oaths), personally appeared John H. Craige who having been duly sworn according to law, deposes and says that he is the editor of The Marine Corps Gazette, and that the following is, to the best of his knowledge and belief, a true statement of the ownership, management (and if a daily paper, the circulation), etc., of the aforesaid publication for the date shown in the above caption, required by the Act of August 24, 1912, embodied in section 443, Postal Laws and Regulations, printed on the reverse of this form, to wit:

- That the names and addresses of the publisher, editor, managing editor, and business managers are: Publisher, Marine Corps Association, 227 South 6th St., Philadelphia, Pa. Editor, John H. Craige. Managing Editor: None. Business Managers: None.
- 2. That the owners are: (Give names and addresses of individual owners, or, if a corporation, give its name and the names and addresses of stockholders owning or holding I per cent. or more of the total amount of stock.)

  Marine Corps Association, Headquarters, U. S. Marine Corps, Washington, D. C.
- 3. That the known bondholders, mortgagees, and other security holders owning or holding 1 per cent. or more of total amount of bonds, mortgages, or other securities are: (If there are none, so state.) None.
- 4. That the two paragraphs next above, giving the names of the owners, stockholders, and security holders, if any, contain not only the list of stockholders and security holders as they appear upon the books of the company but also, in cases where the stockholder or security holder appears upon the books of the company as trustee or in any other fiduciary relation, the name of the person or corporation for whom such trustee is acting, is given; also that the said two paragraphs contain statements embracing affiant's full knowledge and belief as to the circumstances and conditions under which the stockholders and security holders who do not appear upon the books of the company as trustees, hold stock and securities in a capacity other than that of a bonafide owner; and this affiant has no reason to believe that any other person, association, or corporation, has any interest direct or indirect in the said stock, bonds, or other securities than as so stated by him.
- 5. That the average number of copies of each issue of this publication sold or distributed, through the mails or otherwise, to paid subscribers during the six months preceding the date shown above is......(This information is required from daily publications only).

(Signed) JOHN H. CRAIGE

Sworn to and subscribed before me this first day of October, 1922.

(Seal) (Signed) FREDERICK A. BARKER,

Major, U.S.M.C.,A.A. and I